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THE

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Jataka Gathas and Jataka Commentary

It is of the utmost importance to know how far the Jātakas can be used for historical purposes, more especially for the history of Indian literary types, and for the history of social life and institutions in ancient India. H. Oldenberg[1] has used the Jātakas in support of his famous, though now no longer accepted, "Ākhyāna-theory", claiming them as proving the existence, from the Vedic period onwards, of a type of narrative poetry, composed in a mixture of prose and verse, of which the verses only were committed to memory and handed down, while the prose story was left to be narrated by every reciter in his own words.[2] G. Bühler[3], R. Fick[4], T. W. Rhys Davids[5] and Mrs. Rhys

1 The Prose and Verse Type of Narrative and the Jātakas (translated from the German).—Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1910-1912, pp. 19ff.

2 Cf. my History of Indian Literature, English translation, vol. I, pp. 101ff.

3 On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, 2nd ed., Strassburg, 1898, p. 16ff.

4 Die soziale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit, Kiel 1897, translated by Shishir Kumar Maitra (The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, Calcutta 1920).

5 Buddhist India, London 1903, pp. 201ff.

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Davids[1] were of opinion that the Jātakas such as we have them give a picture of Indian life in the days of Buddha, that is, in the sixth and fifth century B.C., or at least at the time of the redaction of the canon in the third century B. C. Since then, however, it has become the almost general opinion of scholars that only the *Jātaka-Gāthās* can claim canonical authority, and be regarded as documents of the third, or even the fifth century B. C., while the Jātaka Commentary, as we have it, can claim no higher antiquity than the fifth or sixth century A. D., though in its prose part also it contains old traditions which in many cases may go back to the same early period as the Gāthās. Moreover, it was generally believed that the original canonical Jātaka, consisting of Gāthās only, was preserved to us in the Phayre MS. of Jātaka verses.[2]

Professor J. Hertel,[3] it is true, has suspected long ago that this MS. may be only an extract from the commentary, such as there are certain Pañcatantra MSS. which contain only the verses without the prose tales, but have been merely copied from complete MSS. of the Pañcatantra. Lately Friedrich Weller[4] has examined not only the Phayre MS. but also two Mandalay MSS. of Jātaka Gāthās, and has come to the conclusion that all these MSS. have been

1 Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India, JRAS., 1901, 859ff.

2 Part of a MS. of the whole Tipiṭaka presented by the king of Burma, dated Sakkarāj 1202 and 1203 (A.D. 1841-42), belonging to the Phayre Collection of the India Office Library (see Oldenberg, JPTS., 1882, p. 60).

3 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 23, 1909, 279f.; 24, 123; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland, Gesellschaft 64, 1910, p, 58,

4 Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, 4, 1926, pp. 46ff. There is also a MS. of the Jātaka Gāthās in the Academy of Leningrad, and Professor Serge d'Oldenburg told Dr. Weller that in his opinion this MS., too, was copied from a MS., of the Jātaka Commentary.

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extracted and copied from the Jātaka Commentary, and by no means represent the ancient Verse-Jātaka of the canon.

Dr. Weller's chief argument is based on the curious (redactor's or copyist's ?) note at the end of the Mahā-Supina-Jātaka (No. 77) :

Parinibbute pana Bhagavati Saṃgītikārakā usabhārukkhādīni tīṇi padāni Aṭṭhakathaṃ āropetvā lābūnīti ādīni pañca padāni ekaṃ gāthaṃ katvā Ekanipātapāliṃ āropesun ti (Fausböll's ed., vol. I, p. 345.).

This note refers to the traditional belief of the Sinhalese Buddhists that at the council held after the Buddha's departure not only the redaction of the canonical texts (Pāli), but also that of the commentaries (Aṭṭhakathās) took place. It is well-known that in the Jātaka Commentary each Jātaka begins by quoting the first words of the first Gāthā. Now our Jātaka No. 77 begins with the words : *lābūni sīdantīti* which is the beginning of the fourth line in our Jātaka Commentary, while the first line begins with : *usabhā rukkhā*, What the note wishes to explain is, why the Jātaka begins with *lābūni sīdanti*, and why it was placed in the Ekanipāta. It says : "Now when the Lord had passed away, the arrangers of the Council put the three lines beginning with *usabhā rukkhā* into the Aṭṭhakathā, made of the five lines beginning with *lābūni* one stanza, and received it into the canonical text of the Ekanipāta". Whatever the exact meaning of this note may be,[1] it is clear that the writer

1 Different translations have been given. T. W. Rhys Davids (Buddhist Birth Stories, London 1880, p. LXXVII, note 3) translates : "Those who held the Council after the death of the Blessed One placed the lines beginning *usabhā rukkhā* in the Commentary, and then, making the other lines beginning *lābūni* into one verse, they put (the Jātaka) into the Eka-nipāta (the chapter including all those Jātakas which have only one verse)". Fausböll (Jātaka edition, vol. VII, p. iii) translates : "When Bhagavat was dead the Council-holders put the three padas *usabhā rukkhā* etc. into the Aṭṭhakathā, and made *lābūni* and the other padas into one gāthā and put it into the verses

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of the note found the three lines beginning with *usabhā rukkhā* only in the Aṭṭhakathā. Now all the three MSS. of Jātaka verses contain these lines. Hence Dr. Weller concludes that these MSS. must be copied from an Aṭṭhakathā MS., and not from a MS. of the original Verse-Jātaka. The conclusion would be quite justified, if we only knew who was the writer of the note : was it the redactor of the Aṭṭhakathā, or some later copyist ? Besides, the eight lines :

Usabhā rukkhā gāviyo gavā ca
asso kaṃso sigālī ca kumbho
pokkharaṇī ca apākacandanaṃ
lābūni sīdanti silā plavanti
maṇḍukiyo kaṇhasappe gilanti
kākaṃ suvaṇṇā parivārayanti
tasā vakā eḷakānaṃ bhayā hi
vipariyāso vattati nayidhamatthi[1]

give, by means of catch-words, the contents of the Mahā-Supina-Jātaka. This is the story of a king who was terrified by *sixteen dreams*, which were interpreted by the

(Pāli) of the Ekanipāta." R. Chalmers (Jātaka transl. ed. by E. B. Cowell, vol. I, p. 194) translates : "But after the passing of the Blessed One, the Editors of the Great Redaction put the three first lines into the Commentary, and making the lines from 'And gourds that sank' into one stanza (therewith), put the whole story into the First Book", but adds : "I am not at all sure that this is the correct translation of this difficult and corrupt passage." Weller (l.c. p. 51) translates : "Nach Buddhas Tode nahmen die Konzilteilnehmer die drei Verszeilen, die mit *usabhārukkhā* beginnen, in die Aṭṭhakathā auf, machten aus den fünf Verszeilen, die mit *lābūni* beginnen, einen Vers und nahmen (ihn ?) in den Text des Ekanipāta auf".

1 This last line was missing in Fausböll's MSS., but is warranted by the Veyyākaraṇa, and by the MSS. examined by Dr. Weller. *Lāpūni* in Fausböll's edition is a bad reading for lābūni (sanskrit alābūni, 'pumpkins'). It is strange that the new edition of the Jātaka in Siamese characters, issued by their Majesties Queen Aunt and Queen Suddhasinninath of Siam in 1925, also has only seven niseda of eight lines. This edition reads *lāvūni*.

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Brahmins as foreboding great calamities, for the prevention of which animal sacrifices with the slaughter of numerous beasts and birds were necessary, while the wise Bodhisatta interpreted them as having no reference at all to the king himself, but to some distant future when weak and unrighteous kings would rule. Now the first three lines refer to eleven of the sixteen dreams, while the five last lines only indicate the last *five* dreams. If really the canonical Jātaka only contained the lines beginning wth *lābūni*, the original Jātaka would only have related a story of *five dreams*, and the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā would have given an enlarged version of an older story. This is, of course, possible. [1] But we cannot be quite certain, as the words *lābūni sīdantīti* at the beginning of the Jātaka may also be a mistake of the MSS. of the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā.

The other facts which Dr. Weller mentions as proving the MSS. in question to be copied from MSS. of the Aṭṭhakathā, are :(1) that in some places the word *ti* (*iti*) after the verse proves that some prose text preceded it ; (2) that one of the three MSS. contains some prose passages[2]; and (3) that the MSS. also contain Samodhānagāthās. The "connexion" (*samodhāna*) between the persons of the "story of the past" with those of the "story of the present" is generally given in prose, that is, as part of the commentary, only exceptionally also in verse. Here it would be necessary to know whether in all or only in some of these cases the verses are

1 In the Tibetan and Chinese versions of this Jātaka story (see S. d'Oldenburg, JRAS., 1893, pp. 509ff.) there are not sixteen, but only ten dreams.

2 But all these prose passages are such as have a word-for-word commentary ; they are found in the Kuṇāla-Jātaka (No. 536) which is so different in style from all the other Jātakas that Oldenberg ascribes to it quite an exceptional position (JPTS., 1910-1912, p. 26, n. 3), and in Jātaka No. 202, where the words *appamāṇo buddho appamāṇo dhammo appamāṇo saṃgho* etc. (Fausböll ed., vol. II, p. 14) are a kind of spell.

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found also in the three MSS. It is this *Samodhāna* by which a secular story is turned into a Jātaka, and I can see no reason why Samodhānagāthās should not occur also in a Verse-Jātaka.

However, it must be admitted that our hope and belief that the original Verse-Jātaka is still extant in MSS., has been shaken by Dr. Weller's arguments, though a critical edition of the Jātaka Gāthās from the four MSS., which give the Gāthās only, or at least a complete collation of these MSS. with Fausböll's edition would be necessary in order to establish all the facts of the case.

But Dr. Weller ought not to have doubted that a Verse-Jātaka ever existed at all. For it seems to me that the very note at the end of No. 77, to which he himself attaches so great an importance, proves that there *was* a Verse-Jātaka in which No. 77 began with *lābūni*, and a Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā containing all the verses beginning with *usbhā rukkhā*. Apart from this, however, there are good reasons for assuming that the canonical Jātaka was a Verse-Jātaka.

In the Commentary[1] we often find references to the "*Pāli*" as distinguished from the *Aṭṭhakathā*, where *Pāli* cannot mean anything else but the Verse-Jātaka. Thus, in Jātaka No. 142 (Fausböll, vol. I, p. 488) we read *Kaliṃ pāpeti* in the Gāthā. The commentator says that in the Pāli they write *phalaṃ pāpeti*, but that this is not found in the Aṭṭhakathā, and does not make good sense. In No. 255 (Fausböll, vol. II, pp. 293f.) the word *agiddhitā* occurs in the Gāthā. The Commentary says: Pāliyaṃ pana *agiddhimā* ti likhitaṃ

1 Mostly in the Veyyākaraṇa, the word-for-word commentary to the gāthās, but sometimes also in other parts of the Commentary. As a matter of fact, we have no means of distinguishing between the different parts of the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā. The distinction made by Fausböll in his edition by printing the Paccuppannavatthu in smaller type, is quite arbitrary, and has no chronological meaning. It is possible that the Veyyākaraṇa may be later, but it has never been proved.

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tato ayaṃ aṭṭhakathāpāṭho va sundarataro, that is to say, he prefers the reading of the Aṭṭhakathā to that of the Pāli. In No. 479 (Fausböll, vol. IV, p. 236) our text has two Gāthās, of which the second only is a good śloka, while the first cannot be called a verse at all. The Commentator says that in the Pāli only the second verse is to be found. In No. 539 (Fausböll, vol.VI, p.36, G. 126) the commentator says that the last pada *jaññā so yadi hāpaye* is only found in the Pāli, and not in the Aṭṭhakathās (aṭṭhakathāsu n'atthi). In No. 547 (Fausböll, vol. VI, p. 547) the commentator says that in the Pāli the Gāthās end with *medinī samakampatha*, while in the Aṭṭhakathā one more gāthā follows.

In No. 505 (Fausböll, vol. IV, p. 447, l. 3) we read : Itoparā uttānasambandhagāthā Pāḷinayen'eva veditabbā. "The following Gāthās, as their connection is clear, must be understood according to the Pāli only[1]." Quite similarly in No. 537 (Fausböll, vol. V, p. 460) the gāthās 2-4 are introduced by the words :Itoparaṃ uttānasambandhāni vacanapaṭivacanāni Pālivasen'eva veditabbāni. "In the following the speeches and counter-speeches, whose connexion is clear, are to be understood according to the Pāli."[2] In both these passages only the cononical verse-text can be meant. The same applies to No. 533 (Fausböll, vol. V, p. 341), where 23 Gāthās are given without any prose, and the commentator says : Imāsaṃ gāthānaṃ sambandho Pālivasen' eva veditabbo ("the connexion of these Gāthās must be understood by the Pāli itself").

In quite a number of other passages, in the Veyyākaraṇa, various readings are quoted as occurring "in the Pāli"

1 W. H. D. Rouse (Jātaka Transl. ed. Cowell, vol. IV, p. 277) translates wrongly : "The connexion of the following verses is clear ; they are arranged in due succession."

2 Or, as H. T. Francis (Jātaka Transl. ed., Cowell, vol. V, p. 249) translates more freely : "The verses that follow are of obvious connexion and are to be understood as uttered by alternate speakers in accordance with the scripture context."

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(pāliyaṁ), or sometimes (vol. IV, p. 134; vol. VI, p. 274), "in the Pāli manuscripts" (pālipoṭṭhakesu). Occasionally the commentator uses "Pāli" also in the sense of "language of the canonical text". Thus, in the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka (No. 556, Fausböll, vol. VI, p. 353), the Bodhisatta is said to have taught the four counsellors the Gāthās "in the Pāli (language)." And in No. 522 (Fausböll, vol. V, p. 147) the commentator explains gambhīrapañhaṃ by saying: atthato ca pālito ca gambhīraṃ, "deep both in meaning and in Pāli (words)." In the commentaries of Buddhaghoṣa and others, and in the Visuddhimagga the *Pāli* often occurs to introduce canonical quotations, where it simply means "canon", "canonical text", "scripture," much like *śruti* in Brāhmaṇical texts. Of course, in the Jātakṭṭhavaṇṇanā also *Pāli* means "canonical text," but wherever the word occurs, it refers to Gāthās only. This shows that the canonical Jātaka was a Verse-Jātaka, and handed down in different MSS. from those of the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, which consists of Gāthās and prose.

E. Senart[1] has already shown that it would have no meaning to call some verses *osānagāthā*, "final stanzas," or to refer to them as being placed at the end, especially when in our Jātaka long prose passages follow after this "end," if the author of the commentary had not referred to the last stanza of a Jātaka consisting of stanzas only. The same scholar has also pointed out[2] already, that Jātakas with more than one Gāthā occur in the Eka-Nipāta. And this seems to me the strongest proof of an original Verse-Jātaka, that the number of verses in the different sections of our Jātaka Commentary does not tally with the titles of these sections.

It is well-known that the Book of Jātakas, like the Thera- and Therī-Gāthās and many other works of Indian literature,

1 Journal Asiatique, 1901, ser. 9, t. XVII, pp. 397ff.
2 L. c., pp. 402f.

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is divided into sections according to the number of Gāthās belonging to one Jātaka, the Eka-Nipāta containing one, the Duka-Nipāta two, the Tika-Nipāta three gāthās each, and so on, up to the terasa-Nipāta, "The Section of Thirteen (Gāthās)". The XIVth section is called Pakiṇṇaka-Nipāta or "Section of (Jātakas with a) Mixed (number of gāthās)" Sections XV to XXI, Vīsati-Nipata, Tiṃsa-Nipāta, etc., contain Jātakas with a number of Gāthās in the twenties, thirties, forties, fifties, sixties, seventies, and eighties, the last section (XXII) being the Mahā-Nipāta or "Large Section," i.e. the Section with a large number of Gāthās. Now what do we actually find in our Jātaka Commentary ?

In the *Eka-Nipāta* 14 of the 150 Jātakas have more than *one* Gāthā[1] : Nos. 1, 25, 31, 35 with 4, Nos. 4, 40, 62 with 5, Nos. 67, 70, 78, 132, 150 with 2 Gāthās each, No. 12 with 10, and No. 96 with 11 Gāthās. In each of these Jātakas only one Gāthā is given with a v. and the Gāthā MSS. contain only this one Gāthā.

In the *Duka-Nipāta* 6 of the 100 Jātakas have more than *two* Gāthās : No. 159 with 4 Gs. (but the third and fourth are only repetitions), 203 with 5, 211 with 3, 220 and 240 with 7 each, and 243 with 10 Gs. (7 of which are quoted from the Vimānavatthu, and 1 is an Udāna). In Nos. 203 and and 220 all the Gāthās have a v., and are in the A.

In the *Tika-Nipāta* 6 of the 50 Jātakas have more than *three* Gāthās : Nos. 257, 276, 285, 296 with 4 each, No. 269 with 9 long stanzas in the P., besides 3 Gs. in A., No. 284 with 10 Gs. in P. (between 2 and 3 there are 7 Gs. introduced by the words : imaṃ dhammaṃ desesi).

In the *Pañca-Nipāta* 7 of the 25 Jātakas have more than

1 The Gāthās (G.) in the whole of our Jātaka Commentary occur sometimes in the Paccuppannavatthu (P.), sometimes (most frequently) in the Atītavatthu (A.), sometimes partly in the one and partly in the other. In the Veyyākaraṇa (V.) also sometimes verses are quoted. These have not been counted.

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five Gs., generally all with v. : No. 352 with 8, No. 354 with 10, Nos. 358, 371, 375 with 6 Gs. each, Nos. 372 and 374 with 7 Gs. each.

In the *Cha-Nipāta* 9 of the 20 Jātakas have more than *six* Gs., generally all with v. : Nos. 376, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392 with 7 Gs. each, Nos. 380 and 385 with 8 Gs. each, and No. 382 with 17 Gs. in A. (all with v.).

In the *Satta-Nipāta* there are 21 Jātakas, 6 of which have more than *seven* Gs. : No. 400 with 11 Gs., Nos. 402, 408 and 410 with 9 Gs. each, No. 405 with 8 Gs., and No. 415 with 12 Gs. (all in A. and with v.).

The *Aṭṭha-Nipāta* contains 10 Jātakas, 7 of which have more than *eight* Gs. : Nos. 417, 419, 420, 421, and 423 have 9 Gs. (with v.), No. 422 has 15, and No. 425 has 11Gs., all in A. and with v.

The *Nava-Nipāta* has 12 Jātakas, 4 of which (Nos. 428, 429, 430, and 432) have more than *nine* Gs. The *Dasa-Nipāta* has 16 Jātakas, 5 of which (Nos. 440, 443, 447, 448, and 454) have more than *ten* Gs. The *Ekādasa-Nipāta* has 9 Jātakas, 5 of which (Nos. 455, 456, 458, 461, and 463) have more than *eleven* Gs. The *Dvādasa-Nipāta* has 9 Jātakas, two of which (No. 466 with 13 Gs., and No. 472 with 14Gs. in A., and one Samodhāna G. at the end) have more than *twelve* Gs. The *Terasa-Nipāta* has 10 Jātakas, 5 of which (Nos. 477, 479, 480, 482, and 483) have more than *thirteen* Gs. (generally with v.)

Section XIV, the *Pakiṇṇaka-Nipāta*, consists of 13 Jātakas,in which the number of Gs. varies from 15 to 47. This Section with a mixed number of Gs: would have no meaning at all, if the other Sections had not been originally intended to contain exactly as many Gs. as are indicated by the title of the Section. For why should not *all* the Jātakas with 14 to 19 Gs. be in the Pakiṇṇaka-Nipāta ? Why is No. 382 with 17 Gs. in the Cha-Nipāta, or No. 422 with 15 Gs. in the Aṭṭha-Nipāta ? And why are Nos. 483, 489, 492, 493, 494, and 496 (with 20 to 26 Gs.) in the Pakiṇṇaka, and not in the

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Vīsati-Nipāta? Why is No. 495 with 47 Gs. not in the Cattālisa-Nipāta?

The *Vīsati-Nipāta* consists of 14 Jātakas which ought to have from 20 to 29 Gs., but No. 499 has 31, 506 has 44, and 507 has 30Gs. The *Tiṃsa-Nipāta* has 10 Jātakas, 3 of which (Nos.514 to 516) have more than 39 Gs. The *Cattālisa-Nipāta* has 5 Jātakas, 2 of which (Nos. 524, 525) have 51 Gs. The *Paṇṇāsa-Nipāta* has 3 Jātakas, one of which (No. 527) has 67Gs. The *Sattati-Nipāta* has 2 Jātakas which ought to have 70 to 79 Gs., but actually No. 531 has 92, and 532 has 93 Gs. In the *Asīti-Nipāta* with 5 Jātakas, we find 3 (Nos. 534, 535, 537) which have more than 90 Gs. There is no reason why No. 534 with 103 Gs. and No. 537 with 123 Gs. should not be included in the *Māha-Nipāta*, where we find No. 538 with 120 Gs.

It is clear that this arrangement of the Jātakas according to the number of Gāthās cannot be based on our Jātaka Commentary. The probability is that there was an ancient and canonical Verse-Jātaka, which was thus divided in 22 Sections, and that this division was kept up in the Commentary, though in so very many cases the number of Gāthās no longer tallies with the titles of the Sections.

It is much to be regretted that circumstances prevented Dr. Weller from cöllating the Gāthās of all the three (resp. four) MSS. with Fausböll's edition of the Commentary. Only when this work will have been accomplished, we shall be able to see whether in the cases, where the Commentary notes a difference of reading between the "Pāli" and the Aṭṭhakathā, the Gāthā MSS. agree with the one or with the other. And then only will it be possible to see whether in these Gāthā MSS. the number of Gāthās agrees with the titles of the Nipātas or with the number of Gāthās found in the Commentary.

At the present state of our knowledge we are bound to say that not only the prose but also the Gāthās of the Jātakas contain much that did not belong to the original

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canonical Jātaka collection. Fausböll (Jātaka edition, vol. VI, Preliminary Remarks) tells us that for the Mahā-Nipāta the Burmese MS. offers a much enlarged text, that in fact it differs so much from the text offered by the other two MSS. that he would "advise some scholar to give a separate edition of the Mahā-Nipāta according to the Burmese redaction." This, too, shows how uncertain our text of the Jātaka Book is, and how careful we have to be when using the Jātakas for the purpose of historical research.

Nevertheless, it remains true that, on the whole, the Gāthās have a much stronger claim to be regarded as canonical than the prose of the Jātakas. According to the Buddhist tradition of Ceylon the original Pāli Aṭṭhakathās were translated into Sinhalese, and afterwards re-translated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa and others. The Jātaka-Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā also is according to this tradition only a translation into Pāli, and a recast of a Sinhalese version of the original Pāli Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā. In the course of this work of translating and re-translating, however, the Gāthās remained in their original Pāli. If we accept this tradition,[1] the Gāthās are of course more original than the prose. In any case, the prose was

1 E. W. Burlingame (Journal of the American Oriental Society, 38, 1918, pp. 267f.) has declared this tradition to be "unreliable and misleading." For (1) Buddhaghosa and the compiler of the Dhammapada Commentary drew, independently of each other, from common Pāli originals; (2) the reader or compiler of the Jātaka Commentary copied both Stories of the Present and Stories of the Past from canonical books and from Buddhaghosa's commentaries, and (3) Dhammapāla drew in similar manner from Buddhaghosa's commentaries and from the Dhammapada Commentary (cf. Burlingame, Buddhist Legends from Dhammapada Commentary, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 28, pp. 48ff., 56f.). But it is difficult to understand how and why such a tradition about the Sinhalese translations and re-translations should have arisen without any historical background. On the other hand, when we believe the tradition, it is only natural

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always more exposed to changes and enlargements. Frequently it is nothing but the poor performance of some inferior writer, especially when, as is often the case, no prose is required at all. It is in the prose only that allusions occur to Ceylon, and not infrequently it is at variance with the Gāthās. The language of the Gāthās, too, is more archaic than that of the prose.

It is true that in some Jātakas, Gāthās and prose form a homogeneous whole. In many others, however, the proses are nothing but useless commentatorial accessories. Therefore the Jātakas cannot be taken as examples of the ancient Indian Ākhyāna in the sense of the prose-and-verse type of narrative, as Oldenberg understood it. Not one, but several literary types are represented in the Jātaka Collection. There are some Jātakas which were prose stories with only one or two or a few verses containing either the moral or the gist of the tale. In these cases it is likely enough that the commentary has preserved more or less of the old prose stories. Another type of Jātakas is that of the Campū in which the story itself is related alternately in prose and verse, in which case the commentary is often an expansion of the original prose text. But there are other Jātakas which originally consisted of Gāthās only : some of them ballads in dialogue form, others ballads in a mixture of dialogue verses and narrative stanzas, others again epics or fragments, and some even mere strings of moral maxims

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to think that the monks who translated from Sinhalese into Pāli would take canonical and even uncanonical Pāli texts, wherever they were available, from the original Pāli works, and not take the trouble of translating them from Sinhalese. When we meet with the same stories in different commentaries, it is not necessary to assume that the one has copied from the other. It is more probable that they were copied from the same pre-existing sources. Many Jātakas, especially the longer ones, probably existed as independent texts, before they were included in a Commentary or Collection.

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on some topic. In all these cases the entire prose belongs to the commentary.[1]

From all this it follows that when using any part of the Jātaka Book for historical purposes, we shall always have to ask ourselves first, to which stratum of the text that part belongs.

M. WINTERNITZ

The Authorship of the Nyayapravesa

It should be noted, in view of the interest naturally taken in the authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, which has been dealt with in an interesting paper by Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, (I. H. Q., III, pp. 152-60) that Mr. M. Tubianski in a paper on the authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa* in the *Bulletin de l' Académie des Sciences de l' URSS* (1927, pp. 975-82) contends that it is certain that the *Nyāyapraveśa* was not the work of Dignāga. Writing without knowledge of Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya's arguments, his chief evidence lies in a comparison of the *Nyāyadvāra* known from a Chinese version and the *Nyāyapraveśa*. His arguments, however, are not wholly convincing. (1) He points out that the *Nyāyapraveśa* adds some fallacies of the thesis which are not found in the *Nyāyadvāra;* this, of course, merely suggests difference of date of composition. (2) The *dūṣaṇābhāsas*, 14 in number of the *Nyāyadvāra* and even of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, are omitted, all that is valuable in them being subsumed under the *hetvābhāsas* as in the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti. Now it may readily be admitted that the *dūṣaṇābhāsas* are merely an illegitimate relic of the old Nyāya *jāti*, and

1 Cf. my article 'Jātaka' in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, vol. vii, p. 492.

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that their disappearance is valuable, but there seems no good reason for denying that Dignāga himself advanced to the point of rejecting these types; difference of date again explains the situation. (3) The terminology is more lucid, which again merely proves later date, as is indicated also by the improved form of exposition. (4) Of more importance is the fact that Dharmakīrti in his criticism of Dignāga in the *Nyāyabindu* uses the term *iṣṭavighātakṛt* in his criticism in lieu of *dharmaviśeṣaviparītasādhana*, the more effective name introduced in the *Nyāyapraveśa*. Would this be possible if the *Nyāyapraveśa* belonged to Dignāga? It seems to me that it certainly would; there is no reason obvious why Dharmakīrti should not have used the older and more common name. All the arguments, therefore, from contents may be disposed of as inconclusive, on the score that they are consistent with the *Nyāyapraveśa* being the later work. This view, it must be noted, involves the rejection of Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya's argument (I. H. Q., III, 155) that Dignāga in his comment on his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* refers to the *Nyāyapraveśa* and not to the *Nyāyadvāra*, and of his view that Jinendrabuddhi in his comment on that work actually cites, from the *Nyāyapraveśa* the definition *pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham*; there is no real doubt that the *Nyāyadvāra* was used in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, and the definition is taken thence. Even if this proved not to be the case, it would be necessary to remember that the quotation is not absolutely assigned by Jinendrabuddhi to the *Nyāyadvāra* (understood by Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya as *Nyāyapraveśa*) but to the *Nyāyadvārādi*. It must also be admitted that the references to the *Nyāyapraveśa* seen in Kumārila and Pārthasārathi Miśra by Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya (pp. 156, 157) are not conclusive evidence, in the absence of any definite mention of that text and of any proof that the doctrines cited are not found in other parts of the writings of Dignāga. It appears to me,

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therefore, that from the evidence adduced by Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya and Mr. Tubianski alike no certain conclusion can be drawn.

The external evidence is declared by Mr. Tubianski to support his denial of Dignāga's authorship. (1) The Chinese tradition ascribes the *Nyāyapraveśa* to Śaṅkara Svāmin, and it preserves both texts, while the Tibetan has only the *Nyāyapraveśa*, omitting the *Nyāyadvāra*. Presumably, therefore, the Chinese had larger materials for ascription, and, since they adopted the *Nyāyapraveśa* as the basis of their logical studies, presumably knew the author. This argument, however, omits to note that, of the two Tibetan versions of the *Nyāyapraveśa* one is based on the Chinese version of the original, and it deliberately gives the name of the author as Dignāga. This is certainly strong evidence that there was a Chinese tradition which ascribed the text to Dignāga, and, therefore, derogates fatally from the conclusiveness of the argument from the Chinese tradition. (2) I-Tsing's list of Dignāga's works contains nothing that can be identified with the *Nyāyapraveśa*. But that is hardly the case. No. 4 of I-Tsing's list appears to be the *Hetudvārasāstra*[1] or *Hetuvidyādvāra*, and it is not enough to say that it cannot answer to *Nyāyapraveśa*, "as the last does not treat exclusively of *hetu*." There is decidedly more validity in Mr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya's declaration that *Hetudvāra* and *Nyāyadvāra* (equivalent to *Nyāyapraveśa*) mean the same thing. Apparently, therefore, I-Tsing did know the *Nyāyapraveśa* as well as the *Nyāyadvāra*, which is doubtless meant by No. 6 in his list. (3) Mr. Tubianski holds that it is possible to explain the Tibetan blunder, as he calls it. They knew of the *Nyāyadvāra* from Dignāga's own reference to it in his comments on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, and, as

1 There is no reason to identify this with the *Hetucakrahamaru* only, which, according to the *History of Indian Logic*, p. 300, n. 1, is only a part of the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

Copper-plate Charter of the Haihaya King Ratnadeva II

PLATE I

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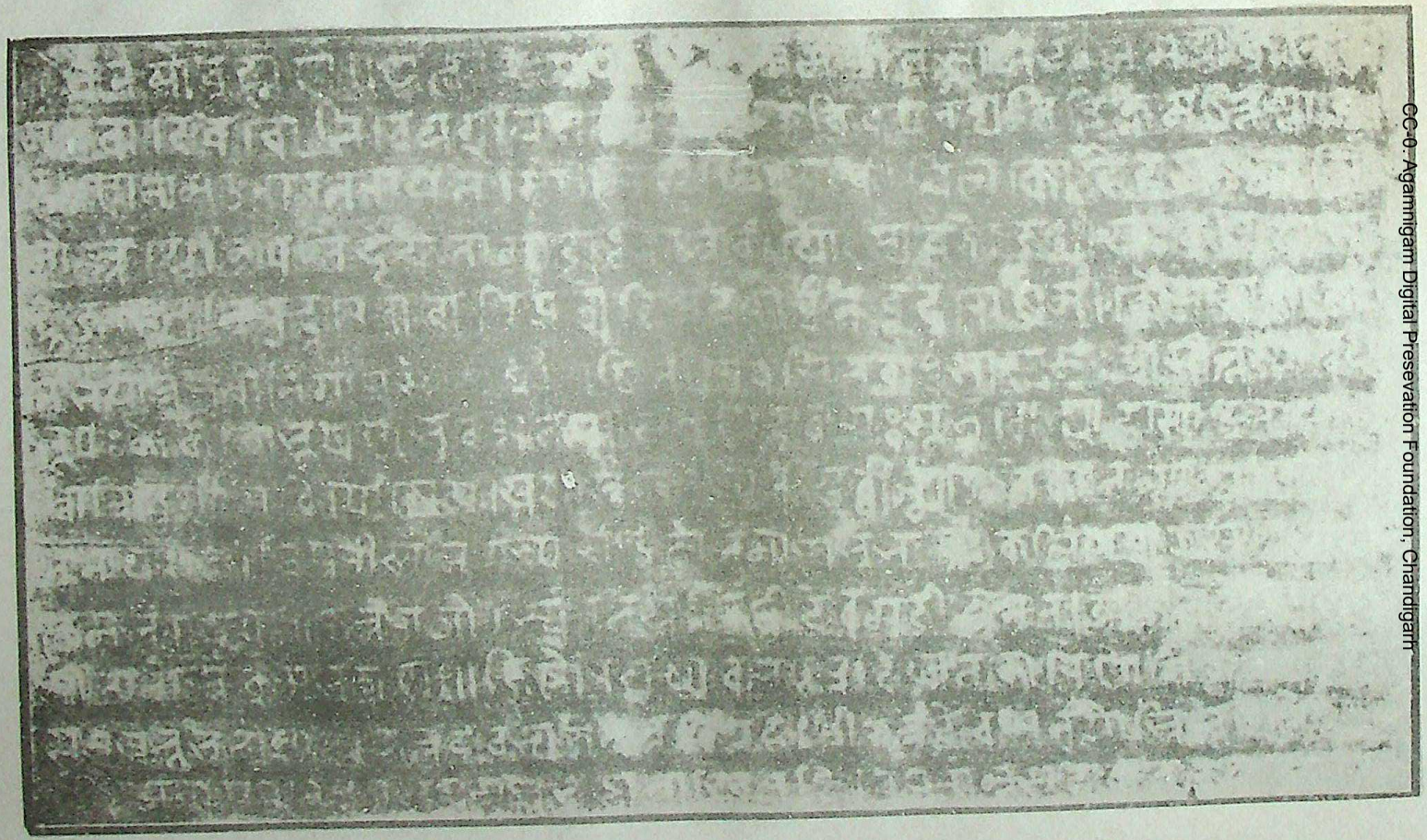

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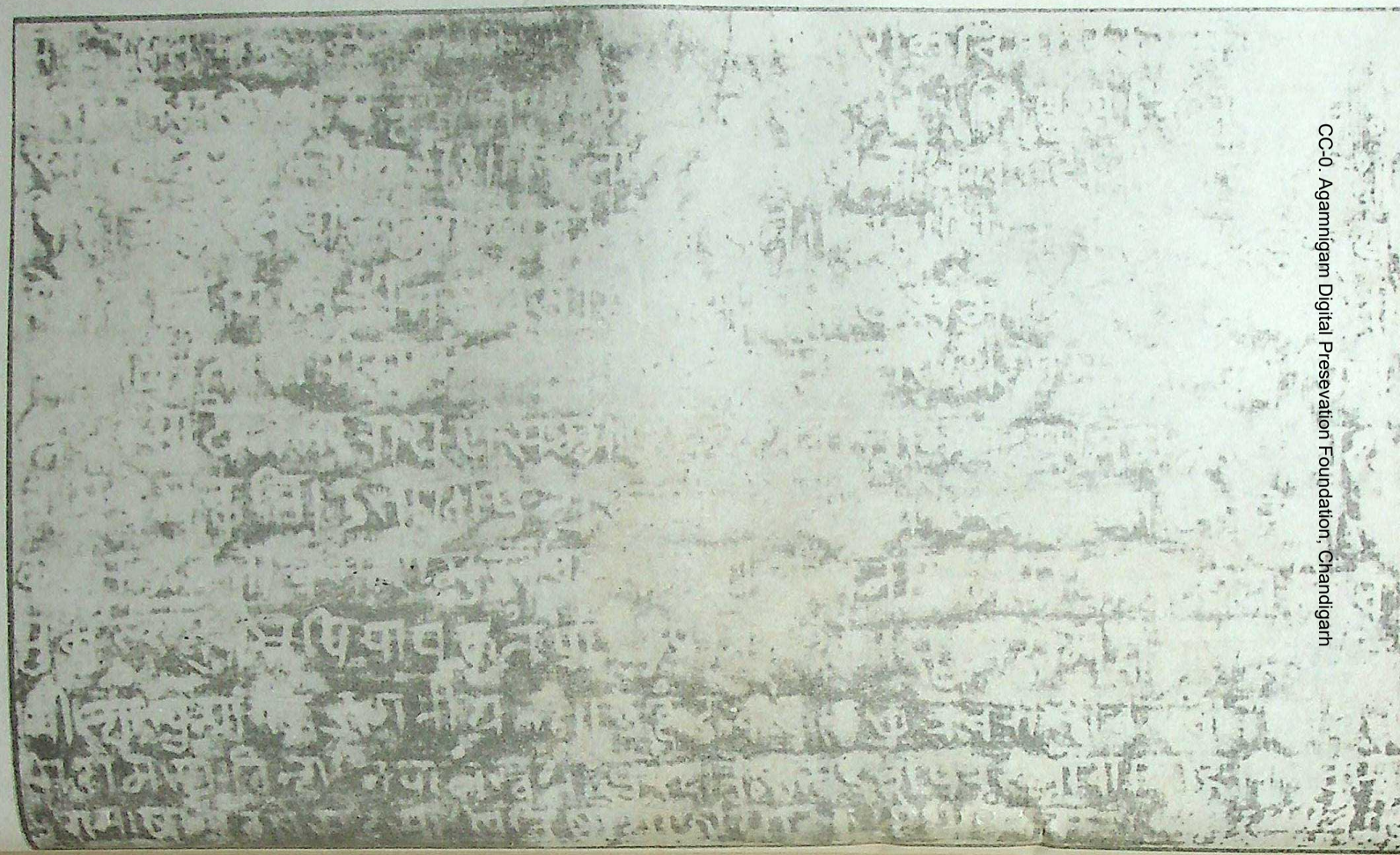
PLATE II



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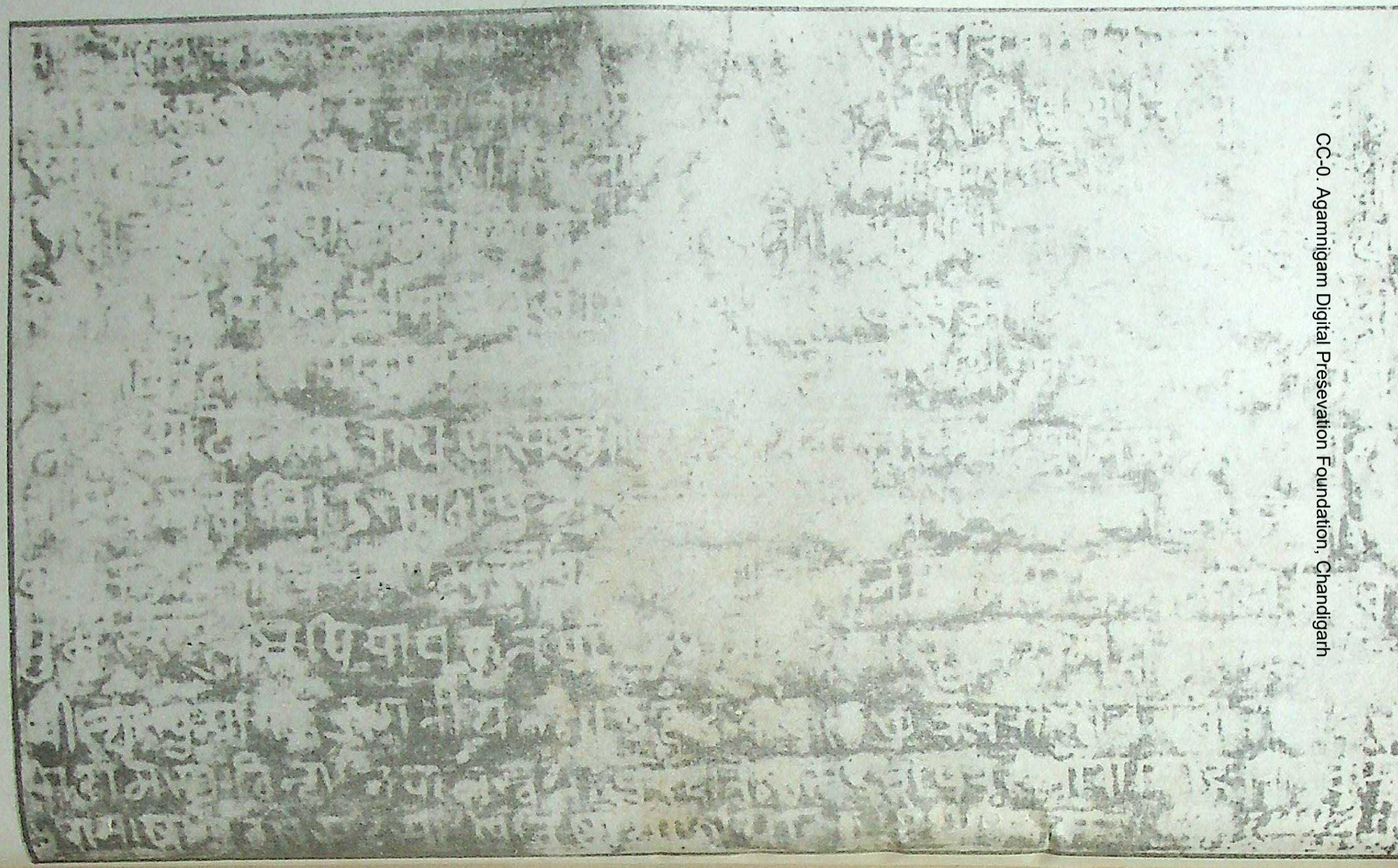
they had no version of it, the similarity of name induced them to take Śaṅkara Svāmin's *Nyāyapraveśa* for the *Nyāyadvāra*, as is indicated by the style *Nyāyapraveśadvāra* given to one of the Tibetan versions. This argument seems to possess no cogency, and as a matter of fact there is not the slightest evidence of ignorance on the part of the Tibetans. On the contrary, the Tibetan index to the Bstan-ḥgyur, the Dkar-chag, expressly warns against confusing the *Nyāyapraveśa* with the *Nyāyadvāra*, which shows that, if the two works of the same general tenor by the same author were sometimes confused, critical opinion was perfectly aware of the distinction. Nothing, therefore, can be made of this argument, nor is it necessary to suggest any ground why the Chinese went wrong; as mentioned above, their mistake was probably not general.

Is there then anything to support the Tibetan tradition of authorship? Note should be made of N. D. Mironov's contribution, made accessible in the *Garbe-Festgabe* (1927, pp. 37-46), where he suggests two small points as supporting the tradition of Tibet. The last verse of the *Nyāyapraveśa* runs:

padārthamātram ākhyātam ādau diṅmātrasiddhaye
yātra yuktir ayuktir vā sānyatra suvicāritā.

Mr. Mironov suggests that in *diṅmātrasiddhaye* we have an allusion to Diṅnāga's name, and he thinks this may be supported by the fact that Haribhadra in his comment on *anyatra* writes *Pramāṇasamuccayādau*. Mr. Tubianski objects that Haribhadra's remark merely proves that he assumed the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to be of the same school as Dignāga, and this is true. But on the other hand, the remark is specially apposite if the author really were Dignāga, in which case it would be perfectly true and very much to the point. Nor is it quite legitimate to pass over the possible play in *diṅmātrasiddhaye*; it can carry no great weight, but it certainly improves Mr. Mironov's argument.

The results arrived at may be summed up as follows:



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The results arrived at may be summed up as follows:

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though largely negative, they represent all that can be said with any approach to certainty. The *Nyāyadvāra*, preserved only in a Chinese rendering, is a work of Dignāga's, and was written before, and used by the author in, his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and commentary. There is nothing in the *Nyāyapraveśa* which is not compatible with the authorship of Dignāga, if we assume, as we are perfectly entitled to do, that it was written later than either of the two works above mentioned, and embodies improvements in minor detail. In any case it is essentially of the same general type as his works, and can be used with a high degree of probability as setting forth his views. It is clear that in Tibet it was ascribed to Dignāga; this was probably the case also to some extent in China, and the most natural explanation of a remark of Haribhadra's is that he thought the text on which he commented was one of Dignāga's, written after the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, to which reference is made in the term *anyatra* used in the last line of the work. There is no difficulty in holding that the work is equivalent to No. 4 in I-Tsing's list of Dignāga's works. Against the ascription to Dignāga there is but one matter of weight, the declaration of the Chinese tradition which ascribes the *Nyāyapraveśa* as translated to Śaṅkara Svāmin, and even that is not conclusive, because, while, as we have it, the Chinese version of the *Nyāyapraveśa* ascribed to Hiuen-tsang gives Śaṅkara Svāmin as the author, the Tibetan version derived from this Chinese version[1] gives Dignāga, suggesting that in the text known to the Tibetan translator from Chinese this ascription was found. Moreover some weight attaches to the fact that Hiuen-tsang is silent elsewhere regarding Śaṅkara Svāmin, which is rather curious if he really translated an important text of his.

1 It was translated first by one and later by another Chinese monk (see I. H. Q., III, 160).

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Even, however, the recovery of the Sanskrit version of the *Nyāyapraveśa* leaves us hopelessly in the dark on many problems of the development of Indian logic. I remain of opinion[1] that the most satisfactory way of reading the history of its development is to ascribe to Dignāga priority over Praśastapāda, and to explain, as does Dr. Randle,[2] the references of Dignāga to doctrines not found in the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* but set out in the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, as dealing with the doctrines of early commentators on the Vaiśeṣika. That there were such has never been doubted by any one; without them the Bhāṣya would never have assumed its present form. I differ, however, from Dr. Randle[3] as regards the question of Dignāga's doctrine of indissoluble connection; Vācaspati (p. 127) unquestionably denies that on Dignāga's view there can be any indissoluble connection of real things, but it is equally clear that Dignāga himself denied the connection of reals. What other meaning can be ascribed to the famous passage : *sarvo 'yam anumānānumeyavyavahāro buddhyārūḍhenaiva dharmadharmibhāvena na bahiḥsadasattvam apekṣate*? Dignāga appears to me in this passage, which is unquestionably his, to declare clearly that all the relations of probans and probandum have nothing whatever to do with external reality—which on his idealistic system[4] was beyond knowledge if it had any existence at all—but depend upon the intellect. That means, in the absence of any reason to deny the obvious sense, that all the relations with which we have to do are matters imposed by the intellect, and accords admirably with the doctrine which regards the intellect as the essential reality. Dr. Randle holds that there is no evidence that Dignāga bases his doctrine of indissoluble connection on his idealism, but this evidence seems to me

1 *Indian Logic and Atomism* (1921).

2 *Fragments from Dinnāga*, p. 65. 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

4 For his thing-in-itself, see Stcherbatsky, *Nirvāṇa*, pp. 153, 154, 161 ; for his ultimate idealism, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 308.

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to be explicitly contained in the word *buddhyārūḍha*. How else could Dignāga have expressed his doctrine? Indeed it would be very satisfactory if other logicians had given us anything half so explicit.

It seems further to me still proper to argue that it is probable that the doctrine of indissoluble connection was derived by Praśastapāda from a school in which that doctrine had a natural right to exist. It appears to be impossible to deny that such a doctrine has such a right to exist from the standpotnt of such a system as that of Dignāga; the denial of the Nyāya school has no cogency for us, nor has it any relevance to the question whether it was from Dignāga that Praśastapāda derived the doctrine of indissoluble connection, which inevitably assumed a very different aspect in its relation to the Vaiśeṣika as a realistic system. We are unlikely ever to have any conclusive evidence for ascribing to Dignāga the origin of the doctrine of indissoluble connection, since it may have been evolved by a Buddhist predecessor, but there is sufficient evidence to show that he developed it, and, as it admirably suits an idealistic position, the probability that it is a Bauddha doctrine is extremely great. We cannot safely assume that it is an accident that Uddyotakara in his attack on the doctrine of *avinābhāva* associates it with Dignāga, and assign the fact to "his normal habit of ignoring Vaiśeṣika logic." It is equally legitimate to hold, and indeed far more probable, that Dignāga was attacked because he was, if not the inventor, the protagonist in the exposition and defence of the doctrine. It is well to remember, that philosophic doctrines emerge often from more than one mind, and the origination is in many cases wholly impossible of determination. But an idealist school is a more natural source of a doctrine of indissoluble connection than a realist. Dr. Randle indeed seems to hold (p. 26) that the Buddhist logic classified inference "according as they are based on the real relations of causality and identity," thus agreeing with one interpretation of *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*, ix. 2, 1, but the term

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"real" appears to me to be wholly inapplicable to the Buddhist view. The relations are clearly dependent on *buddhi* and in no sense real, as they doubtless are on the Vaiśeṣika view. As I pointed out,[1] writing before the classification of inferences was known to be found in Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*,[2] the classification is in no wise in disagreement with the essential doctrine laid down by Dignāga. Any other interpretation reduces Dignāga's view to hopless confusion.

While the question of the invention of the *trairūpya*, or three canons of syllogism, is not essentially bound up with the issue of priority of discovery of the doctrine of indissoluble connection, it seems to me that the effort[3] to ascribe it to the Vaiśeṣika school is implausible. Praśastapāda cites memorial verses, in which the doctrine is asserted to be held by Kāśyapa, which means, of course, Kaṇāda,[4] the author to whom the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* is ascribed. It is argued that the effrontery of such a claim, if the doctrine was really a Buddhist innovation, would be incredible. But this is to ignore the mode of thought prevalent in the schools. Happily an illustration is available ; Sugiura tells us that Dignāga ascribes the doctrine of the nine reasons, which follows from the *trairūpya*, to Socmock, i.e., Akṣapāda, though it is patently not to be found in the *Nyāya Sūtra*. In truth the most that can be said for the Sūtras of the two schools is that there is a hint of the *trairūpya* in the *Nyāya*, v, 1, 34, and in the classification of fallacies in the *Vaiśeṣika*. It was quite enough for Praśastapāda that the explicit doctrine could be fitted into his system, and it would have been impossible for him, to judge from the spirit shown by both schools in their writings, to accept anything as given by the Buddhist philosophy. Here again the simple explanation is that Dig-

1 *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 103.
2 *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 280, 281.
3 *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, pp. 66, 67.
4 S. B. H., vi, p. 1

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nāga formulated clearly what was implicit in some degree in both Sūtras, and that Praśastapāda took it over, without the willingness to admit his appropriation.

Nor am I convinced[1] that the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*, i, 2, 3 does not teach the subjectivity of the universal; certainly i, 2, 8 does not negate that doctrine and the obvious meaning of *sāmānyaṃ viśeṣa iti buddhyapekṣam* requires much explaining away, which doubtless it receives later. It is quite correctly pointed out elsewhere (p. 71) that the doctrine of the real universal does not appear to be organically related to the Vaiśeṣika realism, and that even Praśastapāda does not connect the doctrine of real predicables with the Vaiśeṣika realism of the universal. It appears to me, therefore, as probable that this doctrine of the real universal was not held by Kaṇāda, and that, though adopted by his school, it proved intractable and was only in part assimilated by his system. No work more than the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* gives the impression that the tradition of the school was very far from accurate.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

1 *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, p. 67.

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The Relation between Pāli and Ardhamagadhī

In the issue of the Indian Historical Quarterly for September, 1925 (vol. I, no. 3), Prof. A. B. Keith, M.A., D.C.L., while summarising the various views regarding the origin of Pāli, the language of the Southern Buddhists, supports the theory that the Pāli canon represents in part texts composed in Ardhamāgadhī. Geiger, says he, regards Pāli as we have it, as in essence, a Koine or a literary language based upon Ardhamāgadhī, while Lüders merely holds that it is a western dialect into which Ardhamāgadhī works have been translated. He also refers to the view that Pāli is actually a variety of Ardhamāgadhī. Lüders suggests that the oldest Buddhist scriptures were composed in Old Ardhamāgadhī.

A comparative study of the earliest texts of both these literatures, no doubt, reveals the fact that there is a close resemblance in thought and manner of expression, that several ideas are found to be common and, what is more striking that they use similar expressions.[1] Inspite of a few Ardhamāgadhisms like अत्तकारे वा परकारे वा, सुखदुक्खे जीवसभमे, it is to be doubted whether this theory held by several scholars of high repute can be supported by the evidence adduced by the Ardhamāgadhī texts of the Jain canon and the Pāli texts of the Buddhists. It may be proved, on the contrary, that the Prakrit dialect known as Ardhamāgadhī marks a later stage in the development of the process of corruption of Sanskrit words, and that Pāli marks the earliest stage of corruption reaching as far as the times of the Vedic or middle Sanskrit, inasmuch as we find in Pāli many grammatical forms that are derived from Vedic Sanskrit but are absent in the later or classical

1 See my contribution to the Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume, part II, no. 6.

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Sanskrit. The similarity in words or expressions in both these literatures can be explained by saying that perhaps the Ardhamāgadhī literature borrowed from Pāli. At any rate, the Ardhamāgadhī words or expressions, used to convey the same thought as found in Pāli, decidedly point to a stage farther from Vedic Sanskrit and nearer to modern vernaculars than Pāli.

Let us, therefore, examine the whole question of the relation between Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī from different points of view, e.g., phonology, grammar, vocabulary, nearness to vernaculars and other literary evidences, if any.

Let us now first take up the question of phonology. Out of the vowel and consonant sounds in Sanskrit we have lost in Pāli the vowels ऋ, ॠ, ऌ, ऐ and औ, the visarga and the consonants श and ष only. The remaining vowel and consonant sounds are the same as in Sanskrit. It is only in connection with the sounds mentioned above and the sounds denoted by conjunct consonants that the process of simplification started in Pāli. But in Ardhamāgadhī we find that the process of simplification is carried much farther. Several consonants are softened into vowels or semi-vowels. The non-initial क, ग, च, ज, त, द are often found to be substituted by vowels or the semi-vowel य ; non-initial ख, घ, थ, ध and भ are changed into ह ; the non-initial प is changed into the semi-vowel व ; व and ज are often interchanged, while in Pāli य remains unchanged except in conjunct consonants ; non-initial त, or ट is changed into ड ; non-initial न into ण ; initial न also is sometimes found to be changing into ण. The final consonants like ति, लि or रि are often softened into इ. All these changes are met with in one or the other of later Prakrits, wherein the process of softening of consonants or of sound simplification is carried on, on a much wider scale. In the Ardhamāgadhī stage we find that this process of simplification or of softening had not yet become petrified and that is why we find that in some cases some of the changes referred to above are found and in some they are not, e. g.,

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तिदंडए, अदिस्सं, कट्ठमोदए are found side by side with पाय (पाद), सोदरा (सोदरा); नाही, नीवार with णिहाय, णच्चा, णिसिअ, आगच्चिय; मईमता, पस्सती, विज्जति, अच्चेति, वातेण with मईमआ, पस्सइ, विज्जइ, अच्चेइ, वाएण.

This shows that the dialect was still in a transitional stage and the rules that became rigid later on were not yet obligatory. But this much is certain that the way to the softening process of consonants (which did not exist in Pāli) was opened and that itself is a sign of a later development.

Let us now turn to another point, that of grammar. It is often considered to be a chief characteristic of Ardhamāgadhī, that the nominative singular of masculine nouns ending in अ ends in ए. But a close examination of even Old Ardhamāgadhī texts like Āyārāṅga, Sūyagaḍaṅga reveal the fact that there are several forms ending in ओ of the nominative singular of masculine words ending in अ, e.g., संगो एसो मणुस्साणं; नक्खत्ताणं मुहं चन्दो; गोवालो भण्डवालो वा; अप्पणा अणाहो सन्तो; अत्थित्थ दोसो; विणासो होइ देहिणो; णत्थि बालस्स णागमो; etc. Sometimes in one and the same expression we find the forms ending in ए as well as ओ. चन्दोव ताराण महाणुभावे; जो लक्खणं सुविणं पउंजमाणे. This is another illustration that confirms the view expressed above that the Ardhamāgadhī had not yet attained stability and that is probably why the Prakrit grammarians could not codify the rules for this stage of Ardhamāgadhī which is styled by them as Ārṣa.

In Pāli Grammar देवासे (nominative plural of देव) corresponds to देवास, and देवेभि corresponds to देवेभिः of Vedic Sanskrit. This भिः termination of the instrumental plural is not found in Ardhamāgadhī. Ātmanepada forms are still used in Pāli, though their use is much restricted when compared with their use in Sanskrit. In Ardhamāgadhī no trace is left of the same. In Pāli there are still three forms of the past tense, theoretically, as given by grammarians, and the augment is still present, though optional. In A.M., there is only one past tense and there is no trace of the augment अ. The infinitive termination तवे, and gerund terminations तून, त्वान in Pāli are traced to Vedic तवे, त्वान or त्वीन.

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In Ardhamāgadhī it is found that several of the grammatical forms have been derived from Pāli or from Sanskrit through Pāli. We cannot expect the forms पिउस्स, भाउस्स, भगवओ, बुसीमओ, भगवया and राइणा to have come into existence unless they had passed through the stage of Pāli forms पितुस्स, भातुस्स, भगवतो, बुसीमतो, भगवता and राजिना respectively just as A.M. words like चउव्विह cannot be traced to चतुर्विध except through Pāli चतुब्बिध. The potential terminations एज्जामि, एज्जाम are just derived from Pāli एय्यामि, एय्याम ; दइज्जा is derived from दज्जा (दद्यात्). The passive forms दीसइ, लब्भइ मुच्चइ, भिज्जइ दिज्जइ cannot but be derived from Pāli दिस्सति, लब्भति, मुच्चति, भिज्जति and दीयति. The present tense form पासइ is also to be traced to Pāli पस्सति. The gerunds वन्दित्ता, पासित्ताण, काऊण, घेत्तूण and the infinitives भोत्तए, एसित्तए, काउं, दाउं are to be traced to Pāli forms with the infinitive terminations त्वा, त्वान, तून and तवे or तुं. The forms पडउ, जाइ can be traced to पततु and याति which are the same both in Sanskrit and Pāli. The causal forms कारावेति, भासावेज्जा etc. are obtained by simply changing the प of आपे into व।

Thus from this point of view also it is clear that A. M. is decidedly of a later stage than Pāli.

Let us now examine the vocabulary of similar words in Pāli and A.M.

Pāli.	A. M.	Pāli.	A.M.
मिलक्खु का	मिलक्खु आ	रथकारी	रहकारी
बुब्बुलक	बुब्बुअ	आयस्सण	आहस्सण
पञ्जरक	पण्डुग	यथा	जहा
पिञ्जाक	पिन्नाग	अनाविल	अणाविल
लुख	लूह	गोपालो	गोवालो
सल्लेख	संलेह	पाणातिपात	पाणाइवाय
		पाप	पाव
सेख	सेह	विरूपक्खानि	विरुवरूवाणि
दीघ	दीह	कहापण	कहावण
(अप प्र-) कुक्कुचो	अप पकुक्कुए	अट्ठपदं	अट्ठावयं
आचार	आयार	सिरिंसपा	सिरीसवा
गोचर	गोयर	निब्बाण	निव्वाण
पुञ्ञ	पुण्ण	सब्बे	सव्वे or सुव्वे
राजा	राया	याव	जाव
संघाटियो	संघाडिओ	धोरेय	धोरेज्ज
उच्चटिको	उक्कुडुओ	वेय्यावच्च	वेआवच्चं or वेयावडियं

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Pāli	A.M.	Pāli	A.M.
पटिभानया	पडिहाणयं	उपोसथ	पोसह
पटिपन्न	पडिपन्न	नाथो	नाहो
लिप्पति	लिप्पइ	समुच्चयो	समुच्चए
वेतरणी	वैयरणी	चातुयानो	चाउज्जामो
वातेन	वाएण or वातेण	भूरिपञ्ञो	भूइपन्ने
मत्तञ्ञू	मायन्नू	मालुवा	मालुया

Now what do we find from this comparative table of similar words given above? Do not the A. M. words show that they are the same as Pāli words except with the phonetic changes undergone in A. M.?

Let us further examine the vocabulary from another point of view, viz., nearness to modern vernaculars.

Sanskrit	Pāli	A. M.	Mārāṭhi
अंधकार	अंधकार	अंधियार	अंधार
तडाक	तडाग	तलाअ	तलाव
मरकुण	मंकुण	ढिंकुण	ढेंकुण
भिक्षाचारी	भिक्खाचारी	भिक्खाआरी	भिकारी
युग	युग	जुअ	जूं or जुग
भगिनी	भगिनी	भहिणी	बहिणी
सूची	सूची	सुई	सुई
कपाट	कवाट	कवाड	कवाड
पठन्ति	पठन्ति	पढन्ति	पढतात
स्थिति	ठिति	सइ	से [ज्ञाने०], सय
स्थिति	ठिति	ठिइ	ठे (?) ठाय
अस्ति	अत्थि	अत्थि	आधि [ज्ञाने०]
विस्मरति	विस्सरति	विस्सरइ	विसरतो
एति	एति	एइ	एई
याति	याति	जाइ	जाई
पततु	पततु	पड़उ	पडो
करोतु	करोतु	करउ	करो
दृश्यते	दिस्सति	दिस्सइ	दिसे
दीयते	दीयति	दिज्जइ	दीजे
क्रियते	करीयति	किज्जइ	कीजे
मत	मत	मड़	मढें
अन्तःपुर	अन्तोपुर	अन्तोउर (inmates of the harem)	अंतीरिया
चतुरस्र	चतुरस्स	चउरस्स	चौरस

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Sanskrit	Pāli	A.M.	Mārāṭhi
चतुर्विंशतिः	चतुवीसति	चउवीसइ	चोवीस
स्तोदरा	सोदरा	सोयरा	सोयरा
विद्युत्	विज्जु	विज्जू	विजू [ज्ञाने०], वीज
हृदय	हृदय	हिअय	हियें [ज्ञाने०] हिया
हृद्ध	हुद्ध, बुड्ढ	बुड्ढ	बुडढा [Hindi]
आर्द्र	अल्ल	उल्ल	ओलें
मृदु	मुदु	मउए	मऊ
स्नापक or नापित	नहापित	न्हाविअ	न्हावी
दीप	दीपो	दीवो	दिवा
वापी	वापी	वावी	वाव, [बाव, बावडी]
कपाट	कवाट	कवाड	कवाड
उपानह	उपाहन	पाहणा, वाहणा	वाहणा
उपाध्याय	उपज्झाय	उवज्झाय	ओझा, झा [Hindi]
भूमि	भूमि	भूइ	भुई
कृष्ण	कण्ह	कण्ह	कान्हा
उष्ण	उण्ह	उण्ह	ऊन
मातृघर	मातुघर	माइहर	माहेर

Now what do we find from all these illustrations? Do we not find that Ardhamāgadhī words are nearer to modern vernaculars like Mārāṭhi, Hindi, etc. and that the Ardhamāgadhī forms an intermediate stage like the Prakrit between Pāli and vernaculars? In fact, it is found impossible to arrive at the Ardhamāgadhī form except through Pāli. This also makes it abundantly clear that Pāli is a very early stage of corruption, and the same developed later on into Ardhamāgadhī or Prakrits.

Now in the face of this evidence adduced by the facts mentioned above, can we for a moment believe that Pāli is a variety of Ardhamāgadhī or that it is based upon Ardhamāgadhī, or that it contains translations from A.M.?

Now let us see whether we have got any other external evidence, literary or otherwise.

Ardhamāgadhī is proved to be a later dialect from other sources also. In the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata [XVII, 48, 50], mention is made of it and it is said to be spoken by Ceṭas, princes and merchants. There is no dialect mentioned in this or other works on grammar with which Pāli can be

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said to be identified. It is of course traditionally called Māgadhī, but the characteristics of the same mentioned in books on grammar or found in dramatic works are not to be traced in what is now called Pāli, which is indeed comparatively a very later term. Even Buddhaghoṣa (5th centuray A. C.), in chapter 14 of Visuddhimagga, calls Māgadhī as the natural language and calls it as the original language of all beings,[1] just as the Jains believed Ardhamāgadhī to be the language of gods and ṛṣis. Has Pāli then undergone such radical changes that it cannot be identified with any of the specific Prakrits mentioned by grammarians ? Was it a spoken language at all, or was it merely a literary dialect as some scholars believe ?

We have got an important evidence on the last point from Kātyāyana and Patañjali, who, according to Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar, lived in the 1st quarter of the 4th century B.C. (the period of Nandas, that is traditionally ascribed to him) and the middle of the 2nd century B. C. respectively. Mention is made of incorrect or corrupt forms like चाणपयति, वदति, वडदति. दिसि, वसि (which very nearly agree with Pāli forms) which had come into use among the uneducated people.[2] Thus the spoken language of the uneducated people of the times of Kātyāyana and Patañjali was Pāli or whatever it may have been called then. "The actual formation of this language", says Dr. Bhandarkar, "must be dated some centuries earlier still, since in its verb it represents the middle Sanskrit of Yāska and Pāṇini, i.e., of the 8th century B.C.". Yāska i ces varieties of Sanskrit words but does not refer to an, *apabhraṃśas* or corruptions perhaps because in his time they had not attained any importance. "After his time, however, say in the 7th or 6th century B.C., the elaboration of this language, Pāli or low

1 सभावनिरुत्तिया मागधिकाय सब्बसत्तानं मूलभासाय परिदगतं आणं :—Visuddhimagga, p. 343, Sinh. edition by Rev. Bikkhu A. P. Buddhadatta, 1914.

2 See Bhandarkar's Wilson Philological Lecture, p. 294 ; Pātañjali's Mahābhāṣya (Benares edition, Saṃvat 1927), vol. II, p. 234, Vārtika 820 on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, 9, 3, 9.

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Sanskrit, began in a decided manner and the language continued to be spoken up to the time of Patañjali."[1] Otherwise Gotama Buddha and his disciples could not have used this language in the 5th century B.C. as a vehicle of expression at their preaching.

This Pāli was of course undergoing changes as spoken language from time to time (though it retained its original form in literature for a long time) according to the different characteristics of the provinces and peoples. Even the language of the Asokan Inscriptions of the 3rd century B. C. does not agree with that of the Pāli canon and it further reveals the provincial peculiarities. These provincial peculiarities were for sometime not rigid and Prakrit was in an unstable condition like Ardhamāgadhī shown above, but ultimately they were petrified and thus led to the specific Prakrits like Mahāraṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśacī in the early centuries of the Christian era. So this Māgadhī could not possibly have the same characteristics as those of Pāli or the earliest Apabhraṃśa dialect in Northern India, which may have been called Māgadhī, as tradition puts it, simply because it was used in the country of Magadha, the province of his life work, by the great religious reformer Gotama Buddha.

Thus from the evidences given above—phonology, grammar, the relation of A. M. vocabulary with that of Sanskrit, Pāli and vernacular (Mārāṭhi) and the evidence given by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, we come to the conclusion that Pāli was the earliest stage of Prakrit and that A. M. came much later on. Therefore to say that Pāli was based upon Ardhamāgadhī or that Pāli canon represents translation from Ardhamāgadhī or that Pāli is a variety of Ardhamāgadhī is simply unthinkable.

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1 See Bhandarkar's Wilson Philological Lecture, pp. 301 f.

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A Copper-plate Charter of the Haihaya King Maharaṇaka Ratnadeva II of the Cedi year 878

Sheorinarayan is a thriving town on the left bank of the Mahānadī, in the Bilaspur district, Chhattisgarh, C. P. It was for many years the head-quarters of the present Janjgir Tahsil, but since the Mahānadī flood in the year 1885 which damaged the official records, it is no more so. Since then the beautiful village of Janjgir, which boasts of a richly ornamented though incomplete shrine, a monument of immense architectural interest attributed to the 12th century A. C., has become the head-quarters of the now defunct Sheorinarayan Tahsil.

There are two inscriptions in Sheorinarayan itself: one is incised on a stone-slab built into the plinth of the temple of Candracūḍeśvara and is dated the Cedi year 917 (A.C. 1165); the second inscription records the installation of an image of a warrior named Saṃgrāma Siṃha and is dated the Kalācuri year 898 (A. C. 1146). The ancient and beautiful temple of god Sheorinarayan is well-known in Chhattisgarh. On the *Pūrṇimā* day of the Māgha a fair is held every year when the pilgrims consider it sacred to bathe in the Mahānadī and to have a *darśan* of the gods Sheorinarayan and Candracūḍeśvara Śiva.

The plates which I am going to describe are in the possession of Pandit Rāmacandra Trivēdī, malgujar, the head priest of the Sheorinarayan temple. They are two in number and contain inscriptions on one side only. These plates are historically important for the following three reasons, viz.,

(1) the absence of the figure of Gajalakṣmī which generally occurs on such seals,

(2) the use of the word 'Mahārāṇaka' with the name of the king on the seal and

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(3) the qualifying word *Baṅko* (बङ्को) in mentioning *Tuṃmāṇa.*

Besides the above, the text of the inscriptions as it stands in the present charter differs altogether from that of the Sarkhon Copper-plate Inscription dated Cedi year 880 of the same king. No seal was found with Sarkhon plates, but king Ratnadeva is described in that record as सकल-कोशल-मण्डनश्री. Our present plates are strung with a bold ring bearing the seal of the king. The seal, as stated above, appears to be unusual in two main points. The figure of Gajalakṣmī, as one finds on the seal attached to the charters of king Pṛthvīdeva II, does not occur in the present case. The seal contains the word "Mahārāṇaka" with the royal name "Śrīmadratnadeva" which is, no doubt, a new thing in this charter. The inscription on the seal reads as follows :

Mahārāṇaka

Śrīmadratnadevaḥ.

The letters are bold and well formed. The characters of the charter are Devanāgarī of the 12th century A. C.

As stated above the Sarkhon plates of this king (Ratnadeva II) are without a seal as the seal was missing when the plates were discovered about 10 years ago. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether all the seals of this king were like the present one. If in the seal of king Pṛthvīdeva I, discovered at Amoda (Bilaspur Dist.), Gajalakṣmī figure finds a place, the absence of that figure in this case must have some good reasons.

The charter is written in Sanskrit verses except the salutation in the beginning and the date in the end which are in prose.

The Plate no. I contains 13 lines of 8½ verses and the Plate no. II 13 lines 9½ verses.

We do not find the name of the composer of the verses or of their engraver. The verses are not numbered.

The charter records the grant of a village named Tiṇīrī

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situated in the Anarghavallī-viṣaya to one Nārāyaṇa Śarman, who was the son of Tribhuvanapāla and the grandson of Śilāditya of the Parāśara gotra, a student of the Sāmaveda having 3 pravaras, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Anarghavallī is mentioned twice in the Sarkhon plates (dated 880 Cedi era). In the 20th śloka[1] it is described as a Maṇḍala and in the last śloka[2] as the head-quarters of the Maṇḍala. Both Jaṃḍera (जंडेर) and Anarghavallī (अनर्घवल्ली) mentioned in the Sarkhon Plates are now untraceable in the Bilaspur District.

The charter is dated *Bhādra* Sudi 5th, Sunday, Cedi Saṃvat 878. In line 9 of the 1st plate, we have विपुरीशानुजस्यासीद्‌ को तुम्माणभुजः ॥ Tummāṇa is mentioned in the Kharoda inscription[3] dated 933 Cedi year as well as in other stone-slab inscriptions discovered in the Bilaspur district but there is no such word as वङ्को coupled with the name तुम्माण. Thus the use of the word वङ्को is a new thing in this record.

The genealogy of the donor of this charter is given as follows :

In the race of the Moon was born king Haihaya, whose descendant was the famous Kārttavīrya. In his family there was a king called Kokalla who had 18 sons. The eldest of them became the lord of Tripurī while the younger brothers were made Māṇḍalikas. From the younger brother of the lord of Tripurī, Kaliṅgarāja, the chief of Baṅko Tummāṇa, there was born king Kamalarāja, whose son was Ratnarāja and grandson

1 इन्दोर्मुक्तिं कुर्व्वतायं तदानीं
सर्व्वादाद्यैर्मण्डलेऽनर्घवल्याम् ।
राज्ञा तुष्टेनाथचिंचातलाई
ग्रामस्तस्मै शासनीकृत्य दत्तः ॥२०॥

2 तस्यामेवानर्घवल्यां श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरः सुधीः
जंडेर-ग्रामनाथोऽयं लिलेखाक्षरशोभनम् ॥२५॥

3 ख्यातस्तेषु लघुः कलिङ्गनृपतिर्वङ्केश्वराराधनात्
तुम्माणाधिपतिः सुतोस्य कमलः श्रीरत्नराजस्ततः ॥

The use of the word वङ्केश्वर in the present line may be noted.

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Pṛthvīdeva. Pṛthvīdeva's son was Jājalladeva, whose son was Ratnadeva II, the donor of the present charter.

I give the text of the inscription below.

ओं नमो ब्रह्मणे ॥

१ यत्कारणं परममाद्यवसानहीन-
मव्यक्तनित्यमहतादिव...धेयग।
यस्मान्न किंचिदपरं व्यतिरिक्तमस्ति
तद्ब्रह्मणे नम उदारतराय तस्मै ॥

२ अस्ति विलोकीतिलको हैहयः शशिनोन्वये।
नृपतिर्ददतामाद्यः कार्तवीर्योऽस्य वंशजः ॥

३ यः क्रीड़या स्वभुजसेतुनिरुद्धरेवा-
वारिप्रवाहितहरार्च्चनहृद्धरोषम्।
कैलासतोलनभयार्तभवानिगाव-
संश्लेषतोषितशिवं स्तितवान् दशास्यम् ॥

४ आसीत्तस्यान्वये भूपः कोकलो भूषणं भुवः।
तस्यासन् रणदुर्वाराः सुभटोष्टादशोद्धताः ॥

५ भूत्वा विपुर्यामधिपो जेष्ठस्तेषां स्वविक्रमात्।
सर्व्वान् माण्डलिकानन्यांश्चक्रे भ्रातॄन् कनीयसः ॥

६ विपुरीशानुजस्यासीद्धंको-नुंमाणभूभुजः।
कलिंगराजस्तस्यासीत्कमलराड् नृपः ॥

७ रत्नराजोऽस्य तनयः पृथ्वीदेवमजीजनत्।
जाजल्लदेवस्तस्यासीत् पुत्रो विक्रमभूषणः ॥

८ जिष्णोरमुष्य बलहृत्वविघातकारिणे
निष्कण्टकस्य समस्तभूभृताम्।
जाजल्लदेवस्य जयन्तविग्रहः
श्रीरत्नदेवस्तनयोस्ति भूपतिः ॥

९ तीव्रप्रतापपरितप्तसमस्तभूभृत्
भ्रान्ताखिलक्षितिपरान्तसदैकचण्डः।
यस्तेजसा पिहितराजसमस्तदीप्तिः
सूरः स्फुटं समुचितोभवदस्तहस्तः ॥

१० पराशरस्तनोत्राय नृपतिः सामवेदिने।
वशिष्ठशक्तिपुत्रे ख्यातत्रिप्रवराय सः ॥

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Seal of Mahārāṇaka Śrīmad Ratnadeva

WADHWAN INSCRIPTION No. 1

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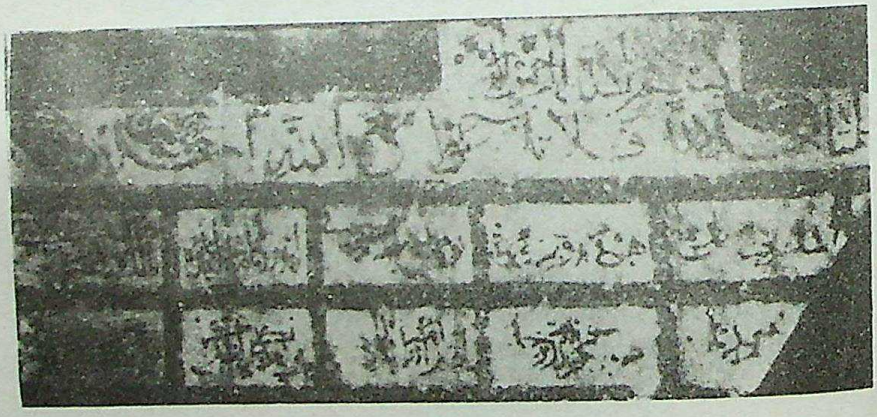
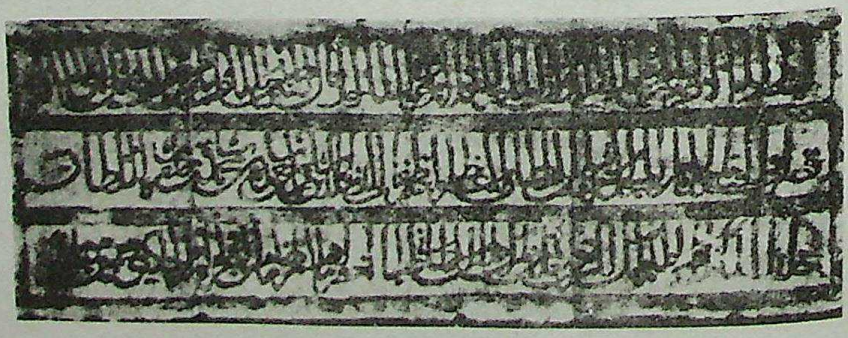
WADHWAN INSCRIPTION No. 2



WADHWAN INSCRIPTION No. 3



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११ शिलादित्यस्य पौत्राय षडंगाधीतवेदिनः ।
विद्वत्त्रिभुवनपालपुत्रायौद्भाववेदिने ॥

१२ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोतिवृद्धये ।
निर्णीतं सर्व्वसीमानं सर्व्वादायसमन्वितम् ॥

१३ अनर्घवल्लीविषये तिखेरी-
ग्रामं सदा रचितपूर्णपाणिः ।
सोमग्रहे पर्व्वणि रवर्द्देव.
तोयेन नारायणशर्म्मणेऽदात् ॥

१४ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥

१५ सुवर्णं रजतं ताम्रं मणिमुक्तावसूनि च ।
सर्व्वानेतान् महाप्राज्ञे ददाति वसुधां ददत् ॥

१६ अपि पापकृतं प्राप्य प्रतिगृह्णीत भूमिदम् ।
मही ददत् पवित्री स्यात् पुण्या हि जगती यतः ॥

१७ उद्दण्डधवलच्छत्रवराश्ववरवारणाः ।
भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदरः ॥

१८ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः ॥

संवत् ८७८ भाद्र सुदि ५ रवौ।

इति

L. P. PANDEYA

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Philosophy of Vasubandhu in Viṃsatika and Triṃsika

The scheme of Vedānta philosophy is surprisingly similar to the idealism of Vasubandhu (280-360 A.D.) as taught in his *Viṃśatikā* with a short commentary of his own and *Triṃśikā* with a commentary of Sthiramati on it.[1] According to this Vijñānavāda (idealism) of Vasubandhu all appearances are but transformations of the principle of consciousness by its inherent movement and none of our cognitions are produced by any external objects which to us seem to be existing outside of us and generating our ideas. Just as in dreams one experiences different objects in different places and countries without there being any objective existence of them or as in dreams many people may come together and perform various actions, so what seems to be a real world of facts and external objects may well be explained as mere creations of the principle of intelligence without any objective basis at all. All that we know as subjective or objective are mere ideation (*vijñapti*) and there is no substantive reality or entities corresponding to them, but that does not mean that pure non-conceptual (*anabhilāpyenātmanā*) thought which the saints realise is also false.[2] It is possible that the awareness of anything may become the object of a further awareness, and that of another, but in all such cases where the awareness is significant (*arthavatī*) there are no entities or reality as represented by them; but this should not be interpreted as a denial of the principle of intelligence or pure know-

1 *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* containing two treatises of *Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā*. Paris 1925.

2 *Yo bālair dharmāṇāṃ svabhāvo grāhyagrāhakādiḥ parikalpitas tena kalpitenātmanā teṣāṃ nairātmyaṃ na tvanabhilāpyenātmanā yo budhānāṃ viṣaya iti.* Commentary on *Viṃśikā*, p. 6.

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ledge as such. Vasubandhu then undertakes to show that the perceptual evidence of the existence of the objective world cannot be trusted. He says that taking visual perception as an example we may ask ourselves if the objects of the visual perception are one as a whole or many as atoms. They cannot be mere wholes, for wholes would imply parts; they cannot be of the nature of atoms for such atoms are not separately perceived; they cannot be of the nature of the combination of atoms, for the existence of atoms cannot be proved.[1] For if six atoms combine from six sides, that implies that the atoms have parts, for if six atoms combine with one another at one identical point, it would mean that the combined group would not have its size bigger than that of an atom and would therefore be invisible. Again if the objects of awareness and perception were only wholes, then succession and sequence would be unexplainable and our perception of separate and distinct things would remain unaccountable. So, though they have no real objective existence, yet perception leads us to believe that they have. People are dreaming the world of objects in the sleep of the instinctive roots of the habit of false imaginative construction (*vitathavikalpābhyāsavāsanānidrayā*) and in their dreams they construct the objective world and it is only when they would become awake with the transcendent indeterminate knowledge (*lokottaranirvikalpajñānalābhāt prabuddho bhavati*) that they would find the world-construction to be as false as the dream-construction of diverse appearances. In such a view there is no objective material world and our cognitions are not influenced by outside objects ; how then are our minds influenced by good instructions and associations, and since none of us have any real physical bodies, how can one kill another? Vasubandhu explains this by the theory that the thought-currents of one person can sometimes determine the thought-

1 *Nāpi te saṃhatā viṣayībhavanti, yasmāt paramāṇurekaṃ dravyaṃ na sidhyati. Ibid.*, p. 7.

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currents of another. Thus the idea of killing of a certain type may produce such a disturbance of the vital powers of another as to produce a cessation of the continuity of one's thought-processes which is called death.[1] So also the good ideas of one may influence the ideas of another for good.

In the *Triṃśikā* of Vasubandhu and its commentary by Sthiramati, this idealism is more clearly explained. It is said that both the soul (or the knower) and all that it knows as subjective ideas or as external objects existing outside of us are but transformations of pure intelligence (*vijñānapariṇāma*). The transformation (*pariṇāma*) of pure intelligenoe means the production of an effect different from that of the causal moment simultaneously at the time of the cessation of the causal moment.[2] There is neither externality nor subjectivity in pure intelligence, but still these are imposed on it (*vijñāna-svarupe parikalpita eva ātmā dharmaśca*). All erroneous impositions imply that there must be some entity which is mistaken as something else. There cannot be erroneous impositions on mere vacuity; so these erroneous impositions of various kinds of external characteristics, self etc. have to be admitted to have been made on the transformations of pure intelligence.[3] Both Vasubandhu and Sthiramati repudiate the suggestion of those extreme idealists who deny also the reality[4] of pure intelligence on grounds of interde-

1 *Paravijñaptiviśeṣādhipatyāt pareṣāṃ jīvitendriyavirodhinī kūcit vikriyā utpadyate yayā sabhāgasantativicchedākhyaṃ maraṇaṃ bhavati.* *Viṃśatikā*, p. 10.

2 *Kāraṇakṣaṇnirodhasamakālaḥ kūraṇakṣaṇavilakṣaṇakāryasya ātmalābhaḥ pariṇāmaḥ.* Sthiramati's Commentary on *Triṃśikā*, p. 16.

3 *Upacārasya ca nirādhārasyāsambhavād avaśyaṃ vijñānapariṇāmo vastuto'sty upagantavyo yatra ātmadharmopacāraḥ pravarttate. Na hi nirāspadā mṛgatṛṣṇikādayaḥ.* Ibid. Compare Śaṅkara's Commentary on Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā*.

4 Thus Laṅkāvatāra, one of the most important works on Buddhistic idealism, denies the real transformation of the pure intelligence or ālayavijñāna. See *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 46.

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pendence or relativity (*saṃvṛti*). Vasubandhu holds that pure consciousness (*vijñaptimātratā*) is the ultimate reality. This ultimate consciousness is a permanent entity which by its inherent power (*śakti*) undergoes threefold transformation as the inherent indeterminate inner changes (*vipāka*) which again produce the two other kinds of transformation as the inner psychoses of mental operations (*manana*) and as the perception of the so-called external sensibles (*viṣaya-vijñapti*). The apprehension of all appearances or characterised entities (*dharma*) as the cognised objects and that of selves and cognisers, the duality of perceivers and the perceived is due to the threefold transformation of vipāka, manana and viṣayavijñapti. The ultimate consciousness (*vijñaptimātra*) which suffers all these modifications is called ālayavijñāna in its modified transformations, because it is the repository of all experiences. The ultimate principle of consciousness is regarded as absolutely permanent in itself and is consequently also of the nature of pure happiness (*sukha*), for what is not eternal is painful and this being eternal is happy.[1] When a saint's mind become fixed (*pratiṣṭhitā*) in this pure consciousness (*vijñaptimātra*), the tendency of dual thought of the subjective and the objective (*grāhyagrāhakānuśaya*) ceases and there dawns the pure indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) and transcendent (*lokottara*) consciousness. It is a state in which the ultimate pure consciousness runs back from its transformations and rests in itself. It is divested of all afflictions (*kleśa*) or touch of vicious tendencies and is therefore called *anāsrava*. It is unthinkable and undemonstrable because it is on one hand pure self-consciousness (*pratyātmavedya*) and omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) as it is divested of all limitations (*āvaraṇa*)

1 *Dhruvo nityatvāt akṣayatayā; sukho nityatvād eva yadanityaṃ tad duḥkhaṃ ayaṃ ca nitya iti asmāt sukhaḥ.* Sthiramati's commentary on *Triṃśikā*, p. 44.

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and on the other hand it is unique in itself.[1] This pure consciousness is called the container of the seed of all (*sarvabīja*) and when its first indeterminate and indefinable transformations rouse the psychosis-transformations and also the transformations as sense-perceptions, these mutually act and react against one another and thus the different series rise again and again and mutually determine one another. These transformations are like waves and ripples on the ocean where each is as much as the product of others as well as the generator of others.[2]

In this view thought (*vijñāna*) is regarded as a real substance and its transformations are also regarded as real and it is these transformations that are manifested as the selves and the charactrised appearances.[3] The first type of transformations called vipāka is in a way the ground of the other two transformations which contain the indeterminate materials out of which the manifestations of the other two transformations appear. But as has already been pointed out, these three different types of transformations again mutually determine one another. The vipāka transformations contain within them the seeds of the constructive instincts (*vikalpavāsanā*) of the selves as cognisers, the constructive instincts of colours, sounds etc., the substantive basis (*āśraya*) of the attribution of this twofold constructive instinct as well as the sense-faculties and the localisation of space-determinations (*sthānavijñapti* or *bhājanalokasanniveśa-vij-*

1 Ālayavijñāna in this ultimate state of pure consciousness (*vijñaptimātratā*) is called the cause (*dhātu*) of all virtues, and being the ultimate state in which all the *dharmas*, or characterised appearances, had lost all their limitations it is called the dharmakāya of the Buddha (*mahāmnuch bhūmipāramitādibhāvanayā kleśajñeyāvaraṇaprahāṇāt.....sarvadharmavibhutvalābhataś ca dharmakāya ity ucyate*).

2 *Tac ca varttate srotasaṅghavat. Ibid.*, p. 21.

3 *Avaśyaṃ vijñānapariṇāmo vastuto'sty upagantavyo yatrātmadharmopacāraḥ pravarttate. Ibid.*, p. 16.

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ñapti). They are also associated in another mode with sense-modifications involving the triune of the sense (*indriya*), sense-object (*viṣaya*) and cognition (and each of these triune is again associated with a characteristic affective tone corresponding with the affective tones of the other two members of the triune in a one to one relation), attention (*manaskāra*), discrimination (*saṃjñā*), volition (*cetanā*) and feeling (*vedanā*).[1] The vipāka transformations have no determinate or limited forms (*aparicchinnālambanākāra*) and there are here no actualised emotional states of attachment, antipathy or the like which are associated with the actual pleasurable or painful feelings. The vipāka transformations thus give us the basic concept of mind and its principal functions with all the potentialities of determinate snbject-object consciousness and its processes. There are here the constructive tendencies of selves as perceivers, the objective constructive tendencies of colours, sounds etc., the sense-faculties etc. attention, feeling, discrimination, volition and sense-functioning. But none of these have any determinate and actualised forms. The second grade of transformations called

1 Feeling (*vedanā*) is distinguished here as painful, pleasurable, and as the basic entity which is neither painful nor pleasurable, which is feeling *per se* (*vedanā anubhavasvabhāvā, sā punar viṣayasya āhlādakaparitāpakatadubhayakaraviviktasvarūpasākṣātkaraṇabhedāt*). This feeling *per se* must be distinguished again from the non-pleasurable-painful feeling existing along with the two other varieties, the painful and the pleasurable. Here the vipāka transformations are regaded as evolving the basic entity of feeling and it is therefore undifferentiated in it as pleasure or pain and is hence called "feeling as indifference (*upekṣā*)" and undifferentiated (*avyākṛta*). The differentiation of feeling as pleasurable or as painful takes place only as a further determination of the basic entity of feeling evolved in the vipāka transformations of good and bad deeds (*śubhāśubhakarmavipāka*). Good and bad (*śubhāśubha*) are to be distinguished from moral and immoral as potential and actual determinations of virtuous and vicious actions.

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manana represents the actual evolution of moral and immoral emotions and it is here that the mind is set in motion by the ignorant references to the mental elements as the self, and from this ignorance about the self is engendered self-love (*ātma-sneha*) and egoism (*ātma-māna*). These references are again associated with the fivefold universal categories of sense-functioning, feeling, attention, volition and discrimination. Then comes the third grade of transformations which are associated with the fivefold universal categories together with the special manifestations of concerte sense-perceptions and the various kinds of intellectual states and moral and immoral mental states such as desire (*chanda*) for different kinds of sense-experiences, decisions (*adhimokṣa*) in conclusions firmly established by perceptions, reasoning etc., memory, attentive reflection (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*), faith and firm will for the good (*śraddhā*), shamefulness (*hrī*) for the bad etc. The term ālayavijñāna is given to all these three types of transformations, but there is underneath it as the permanent passive ground the eternal and unchangeable pure thought (*vijñaptimātratā*).

It may be pointed out here that in this system of philosophy the eternal and unchangeable thought substance undergoes by virtue of its inner dynamics three different orders of superficial changes which are compared with constantly changing streams and waves. The first of these represents the basic changes which later determine all subjective and objective possibilities; the second starts the process of the psychosis by the original ignorance and false attribution of self-hood to non-self elements, self-love and egoism, and in the third grade we have all the concrete mental and extra-mental facts. The fundamental categories make the possibility of mind, mental processes and the extra-mental relations evolve in the first stage of the transformation and these abide through the other two stages of the transformation and become more and more complex and concrete in course of their association with the categories

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of the other transformations. In analysing the knowledge situation, Vasubandhu does not hold that our awareness of blue is only a modification of the "awareness" but he thinks that an awareness has always two relations, a relation with the subject or the knower (*grāhakagraha*) and a relation with the object which is known (*grāhyagraha*). Blue as an object is essential for making an awareness of blue possible, for the awareness is not blue, but we have an awareness of the blue. But Vasubandhu argues that this psychological necessity is due to a projection of objectivity as a necessary function of determinate thought and it does not at all follow that this implies that there are real external objects existing outside of it and generating the awareness as external agent. Psychological objectivity does not imply ontological objectivity. It is argued that if the agency of objective entities in the production of sense-knowledge be admitted, there could not be any case where sense-knowledge can be admitted to be produced without the operation of the objective entities, but since in dreams and illusions such sense-knowledge is universally regarded as being produced without the causal operation of such objective entities, no causal operation can be admitted to the objective entities for the production of sense-knowledge.

SURENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA

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Raḍha or the Ancient Ganga-raṣṭra

II

Vajjabhūmi, the other division of Lāḍha mentioned in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, is evidently a corruption.

Vajjabhūmi or Vijaya-bhūmi, which means the "country of conquest," that is where Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, made a "conquest of his passions" and became a "Jina" or conqueror and where he was called "Mahāvīra" or the Great Hero.[1] His great Renunciation took place at a "Vijaya Muhūrtta" and he attained the Kevaliship at a "Vijaya Muhūrtta."[2] The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, which mentions the names of Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi as two divisions of Lāḍha, was composed in the 4th century B.C., that is, about two hundred years after Mahāvīra's death,[3] when, it is very probable, the word *Vijaya-bhūmi* had been corrupted into *Vajja bhūmi*. Its commentaries which were written not earlier than 876 A. C.,[4] that is, 1500 years after Mahāvīra's death, restored Vajja-bhūmi into Vajra-bhūmi. But it should be stated here that in Māgadhi-Prākṛta, in which language the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* is written, *Vajra* assumes the form *Vayara*,[5] and in Pāli Vajira.[6] In the enumeration of countries in the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[7] which is one of the oldest of the Purāṇas, we find the name of a country called "Pra-Vijaya on the north of Suhma" (*Suhmottaraḥ Pravijayāḥ*). Some of

1 *Kalpa Sūtra* in S. B. E., vol. xxii, p. 263; Dr. Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 26.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 263.

3 *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii, Intro., p. xliii.

4 *Ibid.*, Intro., p. li.

5 The Rev. J. Stevenson's *Kalpa Sūtra*, appendix, p. 139.

6 *Pāliprakāśa* by Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī, p. 13 note.

7 *Matysa P.*, ch. 113, v. 44.

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the Purāṇas have "Brahmottarāḥ" instead of "Suhmottarāḥ[1] but "Brahmottarāḥ" is an obvious mistake for "Suhmottarāḥ." The prefix *Pra* of *Pra-Vijaya* has evidently been used either for the sake of the metre or for emphasising the word *Vijaya*. There can be no doubt that this Vijayabhūmi comprised the modern districts of Manbhum and Singbhum in the Chota Nagpur Division of the Province of Behar and Orissa. Manbhum is evidently a corruption of *Mānya-bhūmi* which means the "venerable country" and evidently derived its name from Mahāvīra, who was called the "Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra" on the attainment of Kevaliship in this district, as we shall show. The Paresnāth Hill, the eastern metropolis of Jaina worship, Abu in Rajputana being the western, is situated in this district. It was the scene of Nirvāṇa of no less than twenty Tīrthaṅkaras out of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jainas, including Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara. It contains their cenotaphs or *Samādhi-mandira*, for which reason the Hill is called by the Jainas *Samet-śikhara* which is a corruption of *Samādhiśekhara*. Singbhum is a corruption of *Siṃha-bhūmi*, which means "the country of the Lion." It also derived its name from Mahāvīra who was compared to a Lion[2] and whose symbol was the Lion (*Keśari-siṃha*).[3] The *Kalpa Sūtra*, which was written by Bhadrabāhu, the Jaina patriarch, who flourished during the reign of Maurya Candragupta and died in 357 B.C.,[4] says "on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhūrtta called Vijaya, outside the town of Jṛmbhikagrāma on the bank of the river Ṛjupālika," Mahāvīra performed asceticism and became a Kevalin.[5] The

1 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 49, v. 57.

2 *Kalpa Sūtra* in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii, p. 261.

3 Dr. Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 71.

4 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii, pp. 265, 332; vol. iii, p. 153; Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intro., p. lxxxvi, pp. 302-3.

5 *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxii, p. 263.

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river Ṛjupālika," or Ṛjupālukā as mentioned by Dr. Bühler, was also called Ṛjuvkula or Ṛjuālikā,[1] and it appears to be the ancient name of the river Barakar which rises in the central plateau of Chota Nagpur, and after flowing through the district of Hazaribagh, enters the district of Manbhum, and falls into the Damodar on the boundary of the district near Sankhtoria. From an inscription in a temple, about eight miles away from Giridih, dedicated to Mahāvīra, it appears that the name of the river, on which the original temple was situated but which is in a different locality, was Ṛjupālika, the present temple being erected with the materials of the old removed to this place. Hence it is very probable that the river Ṛjupālika is the modern river Barakar. Jṛmbhikagrāma[2] means the "village of Jṛmbhika." All circumstances indicate that the ancient Jṛmbhika of the 6th century B.C. is the modern Jharia. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson in her *Heart of Jainism* says "Mahāvīra stayed in a place not very far from the Pārasnāth hills called Jṛmbhakagrāma" which was also called Jṛmbhilā."[3] Jharia is situated at a distance of 25 or 30 miles to the south of the Paresnāth Hill in the district of Manbhum. It is celebrated for its coal fields. If the weather be fair, Paresnāth Hill can be very clearly and distinctly seen from Jharia. Jharia is most probably the corruption of Jṛmbhilā. The religious sentiments of Mahāvīra, whose parents were the followers of Pārśvanātha, as well as his own earnest desire for the welfare of mankind, evidently prompted him to select a spot for asceticism not very far from the Pārśvanātha Hill,

1 Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 39 fn.

2 The Rev. Dr. Stevenson, in his *Kalpa Sūtra*, says "at the town of Tṛmbhikagrāma, outside the town, at a river called Ṛtuvālika." *Tṛmbhikagrāma* and *Ṛtuvālika* are evidently typographical mistakes for *Jṛmbhikagrāma and Ṛjuvālika* respectively in which J has been confounded with T.

3 Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 38.

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hallowed by the memory of the holy saints whose doctrines he had imbibed almost with his mother's milk, as the proximity and association of the sacred mountain would prove a source of constant inspiration and encouragment to him to save his fellow-creatures from the evils of existence which human beings are heir to. He selected a spot on the bank of the Ṛjupālika outside the village of Jṛmbhika where without hindrance or molestation, to which he was subjected during his twelve years' wanderings, he could perform his austerities and pursue his contemplation. It is very probale that the river Barakar, the ancient Ṛjupālika or Ṛjuvālikā, which means the "river with coarse sand," was much nearer to Jharia in the 6th century B.C. than it is now, as the rivers which are liable to sudden freshets, as the Barakar is, generally change their course through the breaks caused in their banks. The river Barakar is now about twenty miles away from Jharia. It is related in the *Kalpa Sūtra* that Mahāvīra spent one *Pajjusan* or rainy season in Paṇitabhūmi, which according to the commentators was in Vajjabhūmi.[1] This has not yet been identified.

Boundaries of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra.

It will therefore be observed that Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, or its abbreviations Rāḍha, Rāḍa, Lāḍha, Lāḍa, Lāṭa, Lāla, as stated in Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist works, was in the 6th century B.C. bounded on the east by the Ganges; on the west its boundary extended to the western limits of the districts of Manbhum and Singbhum, and on the south it was bounded by the Ocean. It also appears from the stories of Vijaya and Bhaddakacchana as stated in the *Mahāvaṃśa*[2] that at the time of Buddha's death, the southern portion of Lāla was very close to the ocean. The boundaries of Rāḍha

1 *Kalpa Sūtra*, *S. B. E.*, vol. xxii, p. 264, note 4. But it should be stated that other Jaina works have Paiśācabhūmi instead of Paṇitabhūmi (see Mr. U. D. Barodia's *History and Literature of Jainism*, p. 39 note).

2 *Mahāvaṃśa*, chapters vi, vii, and viii.

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varied at different periods till it was finally absorbed into the kingdom of Bengal. The *Prabodha-candrodayanāṭaka*[1] mentions Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha or Southern Rāḍh. This shows that before the 11th century Rāḍha was divided into Uttara (Northern) and Dakṣiṇa (Southern) Rāḍha. The portion on the north of the river Ajaya is the Uttara Rāḍha and it includes a part of the district of Murshidabad. The northern boundary of Rāḍha, therefore, extended to a portion of the Murshidabad district. Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra was not in existence in the 14th century A.C. Rāḍha included the modern districts of Hughli, Burdwan, Midnapur, Birbhum, Bankura, a portion of Murshidabad and other districts.

Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra before 5th century B.C.

The name of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra or Gaṅgā-rāḍha, or its contracted form Gaṅgā or Gāṅga, Rāḍha, Rāḍa, Lāḍha, Lāḍa, Lāṭa, or Lāla, however, does not appear in the *Mahābhārata*. The reasonable inference is that the country did not come into existence, or rather the delta of the Ganges in which the country is situated, was not formed till after the composition of the *Mahābhārata*. We have already stated that Suhma and Tāmralipta existed at that time. It is also clear from the route taken by Yudhiṣṭhira in his pilgrimage that the delta of the Ganges which contains the modern Rāḍh had not then been formed and the configuration of Bengal was then quite different from what it is now. This appears to be substantiated by geological evidence. According to the geologists the extension of the delta from the north to the present site of Calcutta took place twelve thousand years ago, but by a cataclysm, supposed to have been caused by a severe earthquake, there occurred a subsidence of Mid-Bengal, which had the effect of changing the courses of rivers, specially of the Ganges. We have no evidence or tradition when the subsidence took place, but Colonel F. C. Hirst has

1 *Prabodha-candrodayanāṭaka*, Act ii.

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noted, and described the former land surface of Bengal in his *Report on the Nadia Rivers.*[1] There was, however, again a re-formation of the delta and emergence of the old depressed surface in some places; and Mr. Ravenshaw is of opinion that "it is not impossible that Calcutta itself may at that period (460 B.C.) have been not far distant from the mouth or one of the mouths of the Ganges."[2] Delta-building is indeed a very slow process. So making an allowance of six hundred years for the slow and gradual extension towards the south of that part of the delta which comprised the modern districts of Hughli and Burdwan on the north of Calcutta, as they appertained to the ancient kingdom of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra or the modern Rāḍh, we may conclude that the country did not come into existence before the 11th century B.C., which is later than the period ascribed to the composition of the *Mahābhārata.* This part of the country, therefore, in the 5th century B.C. was a dense forest, like the modern Sunderbans, and was the abode of lions and other wild animals. In this wilderness lay the original site of the country afterwards called Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, the Lāḷa of the *Mahāvaṃsa,*[3] which was written in the 5th century A.C.; between Vaṅga and Magadha, there was only a caravan-route which joined the two kingdoms. Pāṇḍu Śākya, said to be a cousin of Buddha, fled from the Śākya country for fear of falling into the hands of Virudhaka, and, crossing the Ganges, founded a settlement which was close to the sea and the Ganges as the story of Bhaddakacchana indicates.[4] It also clearly shows that this part of the country in the 5th century

1 *Prakṛti*, a Bengali Scientific Journal, vol. I, pp. 20, 21, edited by Dr. Satya Charan Law; Major (now Colonel) F. C. Hirst's *Report on the Nadia Rivers*, ch. iv.

2 Ravenshaw's *Memorandum on the Ancient Bed of the River Soane and Site of Pālibothra* in *JASB.*, 1845, p. 152.

3 Turnour's *Mahāwanso*, ch. vi.

4 *Ibid.*, ch. viii.

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B.C. was no man's land. This settlement was evidently called Pāṇḍuā in the district of Hughli after the name of its founder Pāṇḍu Śākya.[1]

Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra in inscriptions.

Though there is no mention of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra in any of the Purāṇas or in any classical work, yet we find the name and its abbreviated forms Gaṅgā, Gaṅga and Gāṅga mentioned in official documents and inscriptions. Professor Wilson in his Introduction to the *Mackenzie Collection*, remarking on Mr. Stirling's account of the Gaṅgāvaṃśī Kings of Orissa in the *Asiatic Researches*[2] says, "A few trifling matters may perhaps admit of correction, and an inscription procured since Mr. Stirling wrote, by Mr. Colvin, shows that Coraṅga was not the founder of the Gaṅga family, but that the first who came to Kaliṅga was Ananta Varman, —also called Kolāhala, sovereign of *Gaṅgā Rāḍhi*—the low country on the right bank of the Ganges or Tamluk and Midnapore; this occurred at the end of the 11th century A.C., and from that till the beginning of the 16th century, the same family occupied the province of Orissa, the boundaries of their rule being extended or contracted variously at various times according to the personal characters of the princes themselves and of those to whom they were opposed."[3] It is, therefore, clear that even in the 11th century A.C., the kings of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra were called kings of *Gaṅgā-rāḍhi*. Pliny, who lived in the first century A.C., mentions the *Macco-Calingæ* (which is a transcription of *Majjha*, or middle *Kaliṅgas*) and the *Gangarides-Calingæ* as separate peoples from the *Calingæ* (that is, the people of Kaliṅga proper).[4] The Gaṅgā-rāḍhis were known as "Calingæ"[5] even at the

1 See my *Notes on the District of Hughli or the Ancient Rāḍha* in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 611.

2 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

3 *Mackenzie Collection* (2nd Ed.), p. 82.

4 General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, 519.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 135.

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time of Megasthenes in the 4th century B.C. General Cunningham also is of opinion that the *Gaṅgarides Calingae* were one of the Tri-Kaliṅgas or "Three Kaliṅgas."[1] This appears to be confirmed by the legendary tradition recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[2] about the foundation of the capital by Sīhabāhu. It is said that a king of Vaṅga married a daughter of the king of Kaliṅga, and by her he had a daughter named Suppadevī who eloped with a caravan chief who was proceeding to Magadha. In the wilderness of Lāḷa (that is, Rāḍha) she was chased and carried away by a lion to his den, where they lived together. She gave birth to twins, a son and a daughter. The son was named Sīhabāhu and the daughter Sīhasīvalī. Sīhabāhu killed the lion and they all went to Vaṅga, where Suppadevī was married to her maternal uncle's son Anuro. After the death of the king of Vaṅga, Anuro succeeded to his kingdom, and Sīhabāhu (Sanskrit form Siṃhabāhu) repaired with his sister to the wilderness where he was born, and, clearing the jungle, founded a city named Sīhapura (Sanskrit Siṃhapura) and became its king. He married his sister, and was the progenitor of a line of kings. It is, therefore, clear that being the descendants of a lion, they were of course unable to assume any patronymic, or claim an inclusion into any class; they were consequently known as people of Kaliṅga from Suppadevī's mother who was a princess of Kaliṅga. The story divested of its legendary feature shows that a branch of the kings of Kaliṅga founded a settlement in Lāḷa or Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, and established a kingdom, the capital of which was Siṃhapura. This circumstance evidently contributed to their being known as Kaliṅgas of Gaṅgā-rāḍha (*Gangarides Calingæ*). However, the name of Gaṅgā-rāḍhi existed in the 1st century. It appears from the Karhaḍ Plate and Deoli Plate inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III of Śaka-saṃvat 862 and 880 respectively

1 General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 519

2 Turnour's *Mahāwanso*, ch. vi.

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corresponding to 941 and 959 A.D. that the name *Gāṅgā-rāṣṭra* had been contracted or abbreviated into *Gaṅgā*.[1] These two inscriptions describing the conquests of Kṛṣṇa II, son of Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpatuṅga, state "his command was obeyed by the Aṅgas, the Kaliṅgas, the Gāṅgas, and the Magadhas." It will be remarked that Gāṅga has been placed between Kaliṅga and Magadha. The Pīṭhapuram Pillar Inscription of Pṛthvīśvara dated Śaka-saṃvat 1108 corresponding to 1185-86 A.D.[2] mentions the country as *Gaṅga*, and it is placed just before Kaliṅga. The Harihara Stone Inscription of 1147 A.D. relating the exploits of Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva states "The mighty kings of Gaṅga, Kalinga, Vaṅga, etc., he causes to weep, so greatly do all people praise this Pāṇḍya bhūpaja."[3] So also the Belur Inscription of 1380 A.D. mentions "Aṅga, Gaṅga, Kaliṅga."[4] We have already stated that the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* mentions the "country of Ganges" or Gaṅgā which of course means Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra. It should also be mentioned that Varāha-mihira, who lived in the 16th century A.D., places Suhma which is synonymous with Rāḍha or Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra between Vaṅga and Magadha.[5] This indicates that the delta of the Ganges had considerably extended towards the south since the 5th century B.C., so the position of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra was mentioned in later times with reference to Kaliṅga instead of to Vaṅga. Though the western Gaṅga kings who reigned in Mysore from the 2nd century A.C., are considered to be purely Mysorean in origin, yet it appears that they were preceded by a line of kings known as Raṭṭa kings, and the

1 *Epigraphia Indica*. vol. iv, p. 283, *v.* 15; vol. v, p. 193, *v.* 13—
Dvārasthāṅga-kaliṅga-gāṅga-magadhair abhyarccitājñaściram,
Sūnuḥ sūnṛtavāgbhuvaḥ parivṛḍhaḥ śrīkṛṣṇarājo'bhavat.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv, p. 48.

3 Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 70.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

5 Varāha-Mihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16, *v.* 1.

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country over which they ruled was called Kongu.[1] The names of *Gaṅga*, *Raṭṭa* and *Kongu* (which is a corruption of *Gaṅgā*) raise the suspicion that these two lines of kings were originally connected with the country of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra in northern India, which connection perhaps has not yet been discovered.

Capitals of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra or Rāḍha.

The most ancient capital of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, of which we have got any record, is Sīhapura which is, as stated before, mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Sīhapura, or properly Sīṃhapura, is the modern Siṅgur, now an insignificant village situated in the district of Hughli.[2] It was founded by Sīhabāhu, father of Vijaya who colonised Ceylon in the 5th century B.C., some years before Buddha's death, by clearing the wilderness. It was then near the ocean, and at one time the river Sarasvatī, an arm of the Ganges, used to flow by its eastern side. It is stated by Megasthenes that the capital of the "Gangarides" in the 4th century B.C. was at Parthalis,[3] which is perhaps a transcription or corruption of Pūrvasthalī, now a large village situated on the Ganges, about twenty miles from the town of Burdwan in the district of the same name. Parthalis, being on the eastern boundary of the Gangarides, must have been close to the sea at that time.[4] There can be no doubt that Pūrvasthalī, which is a very old village and certainly much older than Burdwan, was situated on the mouth of the Ganges, in the 4th century B.C. and its advantageous position in affording facilities to inland trade and commercial enterprise soon made it an entrepôt of commerce, and its importance was further enhanced when the capital of Gaṅgā-rāḍha

1 Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intro., pp. xl, xli.

2 *JASB.*, 1910, p. 604.

3 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 135.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

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was shifted to this place owing, evidently, to the insalubrious nature of the climate of Siṃhapura which was then situated in a low moist country on the sea-shore.

The third capital of the Gangarides or of Gaṅgā-rāḍha is mentioned as Gāngē, which is evidently a transcription of Gaṅgā. It is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, which was written in the first century of the Christian era, and also by Ptolemy who lived in the 2nd century. According to the latter it was situated on the third mouth of the Ganges. We can very well conceive that the extended area of the delta to the south of Pūrvasthalī acquired sufficient consistency and consolidation in the course of three centuries for the establishment of a market-town called Gāngē or Gāṅgā on the mouth of the Ganges, as in-coming and out-going vessels evidently felt inconvenience in going up and down in connection with their trade with Parthalis, and Gāngē became an emporium of trade: "through this place are brought" as recorded in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*[1] "malabothrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic." But Pliny, who also lived in the first century A.C., states that Parthalis was the capital of the Gangaridæ Calingæ[2] or, in other words, Gāngē at that period did not become the capital of Gaṅgā-rāḍha. In the second century A.C., however, Ptolemy mentions "Gāngē, the royal residence."[3] In the second century, therefore, Gāngē became the capital of Gaṅgā-rāḍha. It appears that Gāngē had trade connections with Mouziris (modern Cranganore) and Nelkunda (near Kottayam, fifty miles away from Cranganore), and the commodities conveyed

The third capital called Gāngē.

1 Mr. Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 47.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 365.

3 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, Bk. vii, ch. i, secs. 80; 81: see *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 365.

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to these places were exported to Egypt and other countries, including the Roman Empire.[1] It should be stated here that the discovery of the passage from the Red Sea to India by Hippalus in the first century A.C. opened out to the Romans a good prospect of establishing a direct trade with India without the help of intermediaries. Thus Barygaza (Broach) in Guzerat and Mouziris in Malabar became the centres of Roman trade;[2] a great impetus was thusg iven to the development of the export trade of India. It should be remarked that Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk), situated in the district of Hughli, had been existing as a maritime port since the fifth century before the Christian era, and it was existing as such in the first and second centuries A.C. Though the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are generally faulty, yet comparing the latitudes and longitudes of "Tamlites," and "Gāngē" as stated by him, these two places do not appear to be far distant from each other. The reason for the existence of a new port as Gāngē in the first century A.C. may, therefore, be found in the fact that the trade of Northern and Eastern India, as indicated by the names of the commodities exported from this place, had considerably increased and sought an outlet. This necessitated the establishment of a new port, as in those days the less dangerous and less expensive mode of transport to distant places and provinces was through waterways only, and it has been rightly observed by Mr. McCrindle with regard to Tāmralipti that "This place in ancient times was the great emporium of trade between the Ganges and Ceylon."[3] So a new market-town came into existence for the wider distribution of commodities, and its importance

1 McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 23, 25; Mr. Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 205, 208, 217; Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, Intro., pp. xxxiv f.

2 Mr. Charlesworth's *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*; Mr. Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 45, 227 f.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 364.

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was further increased by its becoming the capital of the country.

But the questions are where was this Gāṅgē and what is its modern name? Various identifications have been made by different authors, as Chittagong, Sonārgāon, Jessore etc.,[1] but they are not at all convincing as none of them conforms to the three coditions which are necessary for the identification of Gāṅgē, namely, that it must be situated in Rāḍha, that it must be situated on the Ganges, and that it must have been an emporium of commerce as described in Ptolemy's *Geography* and in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.*[2] Most of these identifications were made on the erroneous assumption that the present tract called the *Sundarbans* existed with all its present places and the mouths of the Ganges in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. Being situated on the mouth of the Ganges in the first century A.C., Gāṅgē must be sought for on the south of Pūrvasthalī which was also near the mouth of the Ganges in the 4th century B.C., and being the capital of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra or (in its contracted form) Rāḍha, it must have been situated on the *western* side of the Ganges. It could not have been Calcutta, as it is situated on the eastern side of the Ganges, and perhaps at that time it was in the midst of an ancient "Sundarbans." It could not have been Tāmralipta, as Ptolemy mentions both "Gāṅgē" and "Tamlites" in the same chapter.[3] Hence it must be sought for between Pūrvasthalī and Calcutta to the south of the former.

Three conditions for identification of Gāṅgē.

(*To be continued*)

NUNDOLAL DEY

1 *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 365.

2 See my *Early Course of the Ganges* in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1921, p. 16.

3 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, Bk. vii, ch. 1, secs. 73 and 81.

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Upaniṣad-vrata

(*The Sacrament for the Study of the Upanisads*)

The Upaniṣads, as we know, were a part, not of the secular literature, but of the sacred literature of ancient India. The philosophy that arose out of them was also, to that extent, a sacred philosophy. It was a philosophy based on sacred texts and partook of a specially orthodox character. The Upaniṣads have always been considered as a section of the Vedic texts and have shared in the peculiarly sacred character attaching to them. Throughout the vast extent of Sanskrit literature, not a line can be discovered which might be understood to suggest that the Upaniṣads were not a part of Vedic literature. Modern scholarship has no doubt discovered the fact that there was a big gap of time between the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. These latter are believed to have been produced very much later and possibly under different social, intellectual and physical conditions. The orthodox view, of course, does not recognise these differences ; according to it, all of them are eternal and revealed, and are, therefore, unaffected by temporal and spatial conditions. We cannot possibly accept this aspect of the revelation theory ; yet we ought not to ignore the fact that to the ancient Indian mind the whole of Śruti, including the Vedas proper and the Upaniṣads, constituted one homogeneous mass ; the Upaniṣads were never thought of as having a different origin or a different character from that of the Vedas. On the contrary, the unbroken and uniform tradition is that the Upaniṣads were a part of the Vedas. Whatever the difference of time and space between the Vedas and the Upaniṣads may have been, in subsequent thinking it was successfully obliterated ; and all of them together have been regarded as making up a complete whole.

Not only this, but as in the case of the Vedas proper, in the case of the Upaniṣads also, a formal, sacramental initiation was necessary for their study. The study of the Upaniṣads, like that of the Vedas, was not a secular study ; and every one could not engage in this study at any time he liked. It was a *vrata*—a holy vow, which involved a severe discipline and an austere life, and was to be preceded and accompanied by a number of sacrificial performances.

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Detailed rules have been laid down for this discipline and these performances in the *Gṛhyas*. The vow was called 'the vow of the Upaniṣads' (*Aupaniṣada Vrata*), and was usually to be kept for a year (*Gobhila*, iii, i, 28 ; *Bodhāyana*, i, 3, 2 ; *Khādira*, ii, 5, 17 ; *Vṛtti* on *Aśvalāyana-Gṛhya*, i, 22, 3 ; and *Bhaṭṭa-Kumārila-Kārikā*, 15 ; etc.).[1]

The first general initiation to the Vedic studies was the sacrament of the sacred thread (or *Upanayana*). Then there were other sacraments also to be gone through for the study of special parts of the Vedas. The *Aupaniṣada vrata* was one of these several sacraments, and was necessary for the study of the Upaniṣads and Brāhmaṇas (*vide* Tarkālaṅkāra's commentary on *Gobhila*, iii, 1, 28 ; *Bodhāyana*, *loc. cit.*).

The *vrata*, however, was not the same thing as the study or the *vidyā* proper. The former was an accompaniment of the latter and consisted in a preliminary vow taken before the sacred fire, then some regular libations offered to the fire throughout the year and, then, at the end of the period, a declaration to the gods that the vow had been kept, and, then a sort of leave-taking from them. The offering of libations had to be continued so long as one was engaged in the study of the Upaniṣads. The period usually contemplated was a year ; but if the study could not be finished during that period, it might be prolonged beyond a year.

The difference between the study and the sacrificial performance accompanying it was never overlooked. And *Gobhila* (iii, 5, 22), *Pāraskara* (ii, 5, 32), etc. contemplate the possibility that one might keep up the sacrificial vow without being able to finish the study and also *vice versa*. It is just thinkable that a man might be anxious to enter the life of a *gṛhin*, i. e., get himself married and find a home, after a year or so spent in the study of the Upaniṣads. Now, during

1 Even within the Upaniṣads themselves, indications of the sacraments accompanying the study of the Upaniṣads are not altogether wanting. References to the ceremony of Upanayana as a preliminary to the study of sacred lore are very many ; (e. g., in the story of Bālāki Ajātaśatru, *Br.*, ii, 1, 14). And in the Śikṣāvallī of the Taitt. Upaniṣad, we have a more detailed description of the ceremonies that were to accompany the study of the Upaniṣads—the *Homas* to be performed and the *Mantras* to be repeated. But the name 'Upaniṣad-vrata' does not occur there ; fuller particulars of these things are found in the Gṛhyas.

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this period, he may have finished the study and also kept up the sacrifice ; or, it was no less likely, that he may have succeeded in either of them only but failed in the other, i. e., he may have finished the study but transgressed the vow, or, kept up the vow without being able to finish the study. It was of course the best thing to be able to have done both ; but it was also permissible to close up the period with success in one direction only. Both could not be neglected but success in both was of course the ideal.

But whether one succeeded in both or not, it is apparent from the trend of the *Gṛhya-sūtras* that both had to be attempted. In other words, the study of the Upaniṣads could not be begun except with the formal initiation and with the sacrifices in question. Harihara while commenting on *Pāraskara*, ii, 5, points out that, after the sacrament of the *Upanayana* one might begin all the Vedas simultaneously, or, might begin them one after another ; but there were different rites to be observed in the two cases. And never could the study of the Vedas or any important portion of them be begun except with a formal initiatory ceremony and a vow to live a stringently regulated life.

The *Gārgya-Nārāyaṇīya-Vṛtti* on *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra*, i, 22, 4, says that when a pupil was unable both to keep the vow and to finish the study of the entire Veda, he might read the Araṇyaka portion only and then become a house-holder.

As to the relative importance of the vow and the study, this writer thinks that the study is more important. The vow to keep up a sacrifice and to follow a particular kind of life for a specified period could be broken only if the study was finished before that period. When a pupil was initiated to the study of the Vedas, he was at the same time initiated to a religious life also involving certain specific sacrifices and certain vows. The pupil was expected to keep the vow and to carry on the study. If he could finish the study before the period vowed for, he could break the vow and become a house-holder ; he could not, however, break the vow without finishing the study. And if he could not read the whole of the portion of the Vedas he undertook to do, then the vow must be observed for the whole period and, having read select parts of that portion of the Vedas which he undertook to read, he might become a house-holder. The most laudable thing for him, however, was to keep the vow for the stipulated period and also to finish the study within that period.

We should notice here that the *Gṛhya-sūtras* of Āpastamba and

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Pāraskara do not mention the *Upaniṣad-varta*, but, as is usual with the other *Gṛhyas*, gives the *Upanayana* at the eighth year and the *Godāna* at the sixteenth. Āśvalāyana also makes no specific mention of the *Upaniṣad-vrata* in the *Sūtras*, but the *Vṛtti* on the *Sūtras* mentions it and so does the *Kārikā* of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila. A clearer mention of this *vrata*, however, is found in the *Śrauta-sūtra* of Āśvalāyana (ii, 2, 14).

Even if a particular *Gṛhya* omitted to mention it altogether, the only inference in that case would be that in some of the *Śākhās*, this *vrata* or vow was not practised. But it does not appear to have been the case. Even when it is not explicitly mentioned in any of the *Gṛhyas*, it is implied clearly enough. The importance of the '*end*' of the Vedas (i. e. of the Upaniṣads) was never lost sight of. And the *vṛtti* on *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya* (i, 22, 4) goes so far as to say that when the rest of the Vedas could not be finished, the pupil should read at least the 'end' of the Vedic texts, i. e., the *Āraṇyakas*, in order that his vow might be considered fulfilled. And under Sūtra, i, 22, 3, the *vṛtti* considers the different views as to when exactly the various ceremonies between the Upanayana and the beginning of a householder's life are to be performed. Though the list of these intermediate ceremonies is not given in full, we can easily see with the help of the *Gṛhyas* of other schools and the *Kārikās* of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, that this list included the *Upaniṣad-vrata* also. Besides, under Sūtra, i, 22, 13, the *vṛtti* gives a *mantra*, viz., *upaniṣade svāhā* which could be appropriately used only in the *Upaniṣad-vrata* ceremony (cf. *Bodhāyana*, iii, 2, 30).

So the *Upaniṣad-vrata* or the sacrament for the study of the Upaniṣads was a generally recognised form of initiation to the study of these books, According to all the schools of *Gṛhyas*, this *vrata* was to last for a year during which period the study of the Upaniṣads was expected to be finished. If owing to any reason, the study could not be finished, the period might be extended. And, according to all the *Gṛhyas* again, this *vrata* was to come after the Upanayana, i. e., the general introduction to the study of the Vedas. There is no provision in the *Gṛhyas* for beginning the study of the Upaniṣads straightway without the introduction to the Vedas in general.

The *Drāhyāyaṇa-Gṛhya* (ii, 5) read with the commentary of Rudraskanda makes the whole thing perfectly clear. At the very beginning (ii, 5, 1) Rudraskanda tells us that there are eight vows prescribed for the Chandogas (*aṣṭau vratāni smaryyante chandogānām*); and

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this list of eight starts with the Upanayana and includes Godāna, Aupaniṣada and five other vows. It is also indicated here as to which *vrata* was to be accompanied by the study of which portion of the Vedas. The Upanayana was no doubt an introduction to the entire study ; still, it was the *Gāyatrī* and other relevant texts which were covered by that specific *vrata*. After this was over, another specific portion of the Vedas was to be begun with the initiatory ceremony of *Āditya-vrata* and so on.

As to the *Aupaniṣada vrata*, we are told (ii, 5, 38) that it was to synchronise with the study of that portion of the Vedic texts which begins with *Deva savitar* etc. and ends with *na ca punarāvartate*. This last line occurs in the last passage of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* ; the first, *Deva sabitar* etc., is not, however, the first line of that Upaniṣad. That seems to indicate that more than a mere Upaniṣad as we find it now, was included in the course of study which was accompanied by the *Uupaniṣad-vrata*. If the whole course could not be gone through, in any case, selections seem to have been allowed.

Rudraskanda further (ii, 5, 41) says that for portions of the Vedas other than those specified in connection with these *vratas*, there was no rule about time (*na kāla-niyamaḥ*), nor was there any rule about the Vedāṅgas.

The student of the Upaniṣads, and for the matter of that, of the Vedas in general, had not a jolly good time of it ; he had to live a strenuous life, a life of austerities with a crowded programme of studies and religious observances. Some idea of the life of the student or the Brahmacārin, as he was called, may be formed if we recollect some of the rules that he was expected to follow. In the first place, he was to be absolutely under his teacher, was to beg alms morning and evening, and whatever he might obtain in that way, he was to make over to his teacher ; he was to collect sacrificial fuel ; he was to carry a staff, and to retain unclipped his hair and beard, and so on. Besides all these rigours, he had to perform certain sacrificial rites and offer libations to the fire. This rigorous life, circumscribed by stringent rules and involving a series of strenuous tasks, was a *vrata* or a vow that the pupil had to keep.

The actual reading of the texts was no less formal and no less stringent. In the first place, there were certain days and certain events during which there could be no reading. For instance, if the student lost a kinsman, reading was to be suspended for some time. In the second place, in addition to all this, there were certain formalities to

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be observed every time when the study was to be begun and postponed for the day.

The first acquisition of the learning, therefore, was an exceedingly formal affair ; nay, it was a religious rite. An arduous preparation was necessary and a strenuous discipline had to be observed so long as the subject of study was not mastered. The study of the Upaniṣads was not a secular function ; it could not be perfunctory. All other concerns of life were to be set aside for the time being, and no other thought was to be allowed to enter the mind of the pupil, and he was not to have any other relation save that with his teacher and fellow-pupils.

The *vidyā* or knowledge acquired with such great difficulty had to be kept alive with equally deep reverence. Even when the pupil had entered the life of a house-holder, the study of the Vedas, including of course the Upaniṣads, was still a sacred duty for him, The reading of the scriptures, or, *Svādhyāya*, as it was technically called, was one of the five great religious observances of a house-holder (*pañca mahāyajña*). (cf. *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya*, iii, 1 ; *Bodhāyana*, ii, 9, etc.).

Āśvalāyana says that these five *yajñas* or rites should be observed daily as far as practicable. With regard to *svādhyāya*, he lays down the following rules :

> "One should go out of the village towards the east or north ; should purify himself by an ablution ; be clothed in pure garments, wear the sacred thread in a particular fashion ; sit upon a seat of the sacred grass of *darbha*, with his face turned to the east and place his hands upon his lap ;.....fix his gaze upon the spot where the sky seems to meet the earth, or, close his eyes altogether ; and concentrate his mind upon the study and then go on with it." (*Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra*, iii, 2, 2).

The study must begin in the spirit of worship and certain formalities must be observed at the beginning and also at the end. Into the details of these we need not go. Suffice it to say that the whole was a sacramental function and not a mere reading of books as a modern man understands it.

We find almost identical regulations about the study of Śruti (including the Upaniṣads) in the *Saṃhitās* of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. Thus, Manu, in chapter ii, gives the details of the Upanayana ceremony, the first general introduction to the study of the Vedas, and lays down almost identical rules as the *Gṛhyas* about the life of

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the *Brahmacārin* or pupil. We find no specific mention of the *Upaniṣad-vrata* here ; but that does not and cannot possibly imply that the study of the Upaniṣads has become a secular concern. For, the term 'Veda' included the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads ; and any sacrament for the study of the Vedas was, to that extent, a sacrament for the study of the Upaniṣads also. The special sacrament connected with the study of these books is not emphasised in the Saṃhitās. This may mean either of two things : (i) that the *Upaniṣad-vrata* had fallen into desuetude ; or, (ii) that a division of labour had been introduced in the study of Śruti and that the Upaniṣads were no longer being studied by the class of men for whom the Saṃhitās were intended. Whichever of these hypotheses we may adopt, the undisputed fact remains that the study of the Upaniṣads was still a sacred function ; whether pursued by the same class of men as before, or not, this study, as far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, never appears to have lost its religious character.

As in the *Gṛhyas*, so in these *Saṃhitās* also, the pupil after having finished his study could enter the life of a house-holder ; and then the teaching and the reading of the Vedas were one of the five religious observances which were binding upon him (cf. *Manu*, iii, 70 ; iii, 75, 78, etc.).

Similar rules as to the beginning and continuance of the study of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads are also found in the books known as *Dharmasūtras*. (*Bodhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, i, 2, 8, *et seq.* ; ii, 6, 9 ; *Gotama-Dharmasūtra*, chapters i & ii ; etc.).

According to the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, the *Dharmasūtras*, and also the *Dharmasaṃhitās*, the common and general rule for the study of the Upaniṣads as a part of the Vedic literature was that it should begin after the ceremony of Upanayana ; some of the *Gṛhyas*, in any case, ordain that this study should be accompanied by a special *vrata* and *homa*, or sacrificial rites. And according to all of them, the first acquisition of the *vidyā* was to take place in the first *āśrama*, i. e., while the pupil was still a young man. And the teacher in all cases was a *gṛhastha* Brahmin. In the first place, he was to be a Brahmin, because teaching was specifically a Brahmin's occupation (*Gotama*, x, 2 ; *Vasiṣṭha* ii, 14). And except in case of dire need, a Brahmin was not to learn from a non-Brahmin (*Gotama-Dharmasūtra*, vii, 1). Barring one or two ostensible cases to the contrary where a Brahmin is said to have acquired knowledge from a Kṣatriya, even in Upaniṣadic times, teaching appears to have remained exclu-

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sively in the hands of the Brahmins. In the second place, the teacher was a *gṛhastha* or house-holder ; for, teaching and reading were parts of his domestic rites.

The *vidyā* or knowledge, thus acquired in the first quarter of life, had to be preserved by continuous study which itself was again a bit of a sacrament. During the second stage of life, the Brahmin was expected not only to read the sacred writings but also to teach them to deserving pupils.

During the second half of life which embraced the third and fourth *āśramas*, viz., the *Vānaprastha* and the *Bhikṣu*, teaching and learning were no part of a Brahmin's activities (*Gotama-Dharmasūtra*, iii, 11, *et seq.* ; *Bodhāyana*, ii, 6, & 10, etc.). This half of life was a life of increasing rigidity, abstinence and penance. At this stage, the Brahmin was to depend for his food on begging ; and in order to cut asunder all ties of attachment to the world, he was not to have any fixed home even. In this stage, the Brahmin was freed from the obligation of performing religious rites except a few small items. He was neither to learn anything nor to teach anything ; but had to meditate on what he had learned before. It was, in fact, only a preparation for death ; and, the meditation on the truths of the Śrutis, was only an attempt to reach salvation when death actually came.

The *Gṛhyas* mention very seldom these *āśramas*. They are discussed more in the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Dharmasaṃhitās* ; and both these branches of literature agree in delineating the ideal of this half of a Brahmin's life. In matters of detail, there are some differences between one school and another and also between the *Sūtras* and the *Saṃhitās* ; but in broad and general outlines, there is a striking agreement among them all. The general scheme of life is more or less the same. Both the *Saṃhitās* and the *Dharmasūtras* prescribe the continuation of the study of the Vedas even during this period. This study, it seems, could never be given up altogether even in the last two *āśramas* (cf. *Vasiṣṭha*, x, 4). Reading aloud was not necessary ; there must be mental recitation and meditation (*Vasiṣṭha*, x, 14). The *Sūtras* do not make any very special mention of the Upaniṣads. It is nevertheless clear that the importance of the Upaniṣads was not overlooked ; the absence of any special reference to them only means that they were not regarded as independent books and it was thought that sufficient recognition was accorded to them when the importance of the Vedas was emphasised. In some cases,

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however, a separate reference to them is also intended, e. g., *Vasiṣṭha*, x, 14 ; *Bodhāyana*, ii, 10, 55 ; etc.

Separate references to the Upaniṣads are found in the *Saṃhitās*. also. Thus *Manu* (vi, 29) says that in the last *āśrama* a man should, among other things, follow the Upaniṣad branch of the *Śrutis* ; and in vi, 94, he says that one should adopt the last *āśrama* after having learned the *Vedānta*.

In the orthodox rules of life in the *Dharma-sūtras*, *Gṛhyas*, and *Dharma-saṃhitās* an ideal has been delineated in which the Upaniṣads certainly occupy an important place, but they are not more important than the other branches of the *Śrutis*. And, further, no special virtue is supposed to belong to the last two *āśramas* and the first as opposed to the second ; in other words, the life of a *gṛhastha* or house-holder is not despised in any way. This is also an important *āśrama*, if not the most important *āśrama* ; and the parts of the Vedas other than the Upaniṣads are not considered valueless at all.

On the contrary, as to *āśramas*, the *gṛhastha* is very much extolled (*Manu*, vi, 87, 90, etc.). The house-holder is the prop on which the others have all to lean for support ; his is, therefore, the best *āśrama*. *Bodhāyana* (ii, 6, 29 f.) refers to a view that the real *āśrama* —the *āśrama* that was sanctioned by explicit *Śrutis*—was that of the *gṛhastha*. And it was only an *asura* named Kapila, who, warring against the gods, introduced the fourfold division of *āśramas*. Of course, this was one of the many views on the subject. In any case, the existence of the four *āśramas* as a matter of fact is frankly recognised in the *Dharmasūtras* and *Saṃhitās* ; and the possibility and *Śāstric* sanction for the evasion of the responsibilities of a house-holder's life were also admitted by these writers. But they placed the greatest emphasis on the second *āśrama*, viz., that of the *gṛhastha*. Some of the *Smṛtis* of later times went so far even as to prohibit the last *āśrama* (*Sannyāsa*) altogether in the Kali age.

Again, even in the last *āśrama*, some of the simpler Vedic rites are still obligatory (cf. *Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā*, xciv, 4 ; etc.). And a general study and meditation of the Vedas is always enjoined. As to the study of the *Śrutis*, the Vedas proper occupy perhaps a higher position than the Upaniṣads. These latter also are sacred and should be studied with ceremony and reverence and should on no account be slighted. But they have no special sanctity as against the other sections of the Vedas and are not supposed to have any special authority either.

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In the *Smṛti* literature, beginning with the *Sūtras* and ending with the later compilations like those of Raghunandana, the tendency is distinctly traceable of attaching an increasing importance to the life of the *gṛhin* (house-holder). The life of the house-holder was a life of *karman*. Of course, among the many *karmans* that he had to be perform, the reading of the Vedas (*svādhyāya*) also was one. But there the Upaniṣads are not in any way specially marked out.

Th. special importance attached to the *gṛhastha aśrama* and the decreasing value assigned to *sannyāsa* in the *Smṛtis* seem to imply that, among orthodox Brahminical circles, the reading and meditation of the Upaniṣads, though quite important and sacred, were never regarded as a substitute for the reading and practice of the other portions of the Vedas. The Upaniṣads were a supplement to the Vedas and as such quite important. But their study could not be regarded as dispensing with the need for other studies. And what is far more important, renunciatiou of *karman* and of the life of *karman*, was not considered by these writers a necessary and indispensable preliminary to that study. On the contrary, in the *Smṛtis*, this study is associated with a sacrificial vow—a *vrata*—which was a *karman* of the same type as any other Vedic rite.

This discussion must have prepared us to accept the following conclusions :

(i) In earlier days, according to the orthodox view, though the Upaniṣads were quite an important section of the Vedic literature, and though, along with other important sections, the study of the Upaniṣadic section had to be accompanied by certain sacrificial performances and was regulated by special and stringent rules, yet, the Upaniṣads were never considered to be anything other than a mere part of the *Śruti* literature. They were not conceived to be independent books ; they did not imply an independent cult and were not followed by a special class of men. We are no doubt often told of a class of men called *Brahmavādins* ; but they are also referred to in connection with ceremonial performances. This shows that although there were those that specialised in *Brahmavidyā* or Upaniṣadic studies, yet socially, they were not an altogether distinct class from other classes of Brahmins.[1] These references to the *Brahma-*

[1] *Vide* my paper on '*The Upaniṣadic Scholar*' in the *I.H.Q.*,vol. III,no. 3.

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vādins are just like our references to the 'physicists' or the 'logicians' : they do not imply a distinct *social* class. The *Brahmavādin* was a distinguished scholar and held a high position in society ; nevertheless, he was after all a Vedic Brahmin.

(ii) The study of the Upaniṣads was a part of the scheme of life in which the performance of Vedic ceremonies and the worship of fire figured prominently. The class of men who performed these sacrifices were also the class to whom the Upaniṣads really mattered. It was the Brahmins of Vedic religion who read and studied the Upaniṣads and studied them as part of the Vedas.

(iii) It was part of a Brahmin's regular function to teach pupils ; and along with other branches of the Vedas, he taught the Upaniṣads also. The teacher was a *gṛhastha.*

(iv) Renunciation of the world was a virtue, but it was to be practised only *after* one had been a worshipper according to ordinary rules, had been a house-holder and founded a family. It was not an exceedingly high virtue and was not a *sine qua non* for the study of the Upaniṣads.

This was in ancient times. Some of the ceremonies, e. g., *Upanayana,* still linger in more or less mutilated form ; but the same old religion is no longer practised in its entirety. And between then and now, another important and interesting change had taken place : It was the abstraction of the Upaniṣadic portion of the Vedic literature from the rest of it and handing it over to a class of men who cared very little for the Vedic religion properly so called and little also for the responsibilities of a worldly life. In other words, in later times, a class of men arose who studied only the Upaniṣads to the exclusion of the other branches of *Śruti* and practised the last *āśramas* excluding the second (i. e. that of a house-holder).

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The Alleged Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy

Some writers like Mr. G. R. Kaye and Dr. D. E. Smith attribute the growth of Hindu Astronomy to Greek influence. This opinion was first expressed by Mr. G. R. Kaye and Dr. Smith, and others have followed suit. There must of course be considerable difference of opinion regarding the age of Hindu Astronomy in which personal equation of the writer must play a great part. Mr. Kaye assumes many things which perhaps take their colour from a preconception of superiority of the astronomical attainments of the Greeks to that of the Hindus.

European scholars chiefly divide Hindu Astronomy into two stages: that of the Vedas and that based on mathematical calculations as propounded in Brahmasiddhānta, Sūryasiddhānata, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Siddhāntaśiromaṇi and other astronomical works of more recent date. Baily, Max Müller and other eminent orientalists have expressed high admiration for the accurate astronomical knowledge attained by the Hindus even in the Vedic age; but a few oriental scholars of the school of Bentley see nothing remarkable in the first stage of Hindu Astronomy, and Mr. Kaye, it seems to us, belongs to this school. Mr. Kaye remarks: "it is now acknowledged that the Hindu Astronomy of the second period (that of Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhāskara and others) came from the Greeks." He puts forward as his evidence that two at least of the western works, the Romaka and the Pauliśa text books, were translated or adapted. Further, to prove that much of the astronomical knowledge came from the Greeks through the Persian medium, he adds that "there is the curious fact that the Hindus ascribed their knowledge of Astronomy to the Sun-worshipper Maya by whom they probably meant the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda." The mention of the name of Maya puzzled Mr. Weber also who thought it was the Hindu translation of Ptolemois of the Greeks.

The basis of Hindu Astronomy lay in the religious aspirations of Hindu votaries in times when each heavenly body represented a Divinity. The study of astronomy originated in the doctrine that the Supreme Being had assigned duties to each of the heavenly bodies, by which they became rulers of the affairs of the world, and that a knowledge of the Divine Will would be acquired by watching and

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observing the order of their motions and the recurrence of times and seasons. With the Hindus the study of astronomy became a sacred duty, at least among the most educated classes, inasmuch as the celestial bodies were viewed as gods and the worship of them was enjoined by the Vedas. Thus the piety of the Hindus in primitive ages led them to watch with care all the phenomena of the heaven and to perfect their calendar of festivals, etc. To this end the first Hindu astronomers directed their attention. According to Baily, accurate astronomical observations had been made in India, probably before 3000 B.C.—a conclusion which is justified on independent evidence. Some writers of the history of the Vedic age have also held that the vedic sacrificial rites had a close connection with astronomical calculations. In any case, as they were regulated by the position of the moon with reference to the stars, they must be held to pre-suppose accurate astronomical observations, which indeed have come to be a religious necessity; it is therefore reasonable to argue, *a priori*, that an extensive astronomical knowledge was obtained in India even in the Vedic times. According to the Vedic hymns as translated by Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, even in the Vedic times the Hindus had a knowledge of the motions of the planets (at least of five) and the causes of the solar and lunar eclipses. An astronomical interpretation of the Vedic hymns attempted by other scholars goes to show that a knowledge of solstitial and equinoctial points on the part of the Vedic writers could be reasonably accepted.

Mr. Weber suggests that Maya (as mentioned in Sūryasiddhānta) is the Sanskrit translation of Ptolemois of the Greeks and thereby hints at the indebtedness of Hindu Astronomy to the Greeks. We shall just show how groundless this assumption is. The name of Maya appears in many places in the Purāṇas as a famous architect; and there is frequent mention of Māyāvi-Maya (by this probably an eminent astrologer and astronomer is meant) in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhāraṭa. Apart from the above, granting that Maya of the Sūryasiddhānata is the Sanskrit counter-part of Ptolemois, we find that there is not a single passage in the whole of the Sūryasiddhānta to show that Maya gave any lessons on astronomy. He was only a learner and Sūrya is the preceptor. Sūrya is of course the god of the Hindus and was not imported from Greece. Therefore, even taking for granted Mr. Weber's interpretation, we draw just a contrary inference, viz, that Maya got his teaching from Sūrya. Again, the suggestion of Mr. Kaye that by Asura Maya is meant the

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Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda needs no refutation; for the mere perusal of any Persian treatise will convince any one that Persian Astronomy was not half so advanced as the astronomical knowledge evidenced in the Sūryasiddhānta.

Of all the Sidhāntas, none were held in such high esteem as the Brahma, Sūrya, Soma and Bṛhaspati. They were considered to be inspired. There were also two other Siddhāntas, Romaka and Pauliśa. Mr. Kaye says that both of them are of Greek origin and have much influenced the ancient Hindu astronomers. The Romakasiddhānta is undoubtedly a translation of some Greek or Roman treatise as its name suggests. Its method of procedure also does not agree with that followed in any of the above Siddhāntas and in this treatise the latitude of Alexandria has been adopted for calculating times and dates. Most probably it is an adaptation from Ptolemy's work, and its calculations have not been used, not even mentioned, in any of the known treatises of Hindu astronomy. The date of its composition has been placed by Dr. Kern in the sixteenth century, for in it there is an occasional mention of the name of Emperor Babar. Hence we may safely conclude that Romakasiddhānta has very little to do with the progress of astronomical knowledge of the Hindus. Of the Pauliśasiddhānta we cannot say the same thing. Its method of procedure agrees in many respects with that of the current Siddhāntas of the Hindus, the only difference being that the calculation of the solar and the lunar eclipses given in this book are not so accurate as propounded in the Sūryasiddhānta or Siddhānta-śiromaṇi of Bhāskara. It is believed by many European scholars that the Pauliśasiddhānta is an adaptation of the work by Paulus Alexandrinus. But there was also a sage in India of the name of Puliśa. Is it not a faulty argument to base a conclusion on the similarity of names? "We have no right" says Dr. Kern in his preface to Bṛhatsaṃhitā, "whatever, to infer that Paulus Alexandrinus and Puliśa are one and the same, for identity of name is too slender a ground specially when the name happens to be a common one." Further, the Pauliśasiddhānta (as described by Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray in his work entitled "Our Astronomy and Astronomers") is based on mathematical calculations, whereas the work of Paulus is mainly an astrological one. We have, therefore, every reason to believe that Pauliśasiddhānta had its origin in India and is not imported from outside.

The second period of Hindu Astronomy was a real advance in

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mathematical astronomy and the reasonings set forth there exhibit a keenness of observation that would do credit to latter-day European philosophy. The treatises of that period that are held in high esteem by the Hindus are Brahmasiddhānta, Sūryasiddhānta, Bṛhat-saṃhitā and Siddhāntaśiromaṇi. The dates of composition of the above works have not been fixed to our entire satisfaction; there exists a vast difference of opinion as to the actual dates among the oriental scholars. As regards dates we are inclined to follow Mr. Baily, Mr. Brennand and Pandit Sudhakara Dvivedi where any difference of opinion arises.

The birth of Āryabhaṭa marked a new era in the progress of mathematical astronomy. He wrote a number of works on astronomy which are now known only through quotations from his writings given by Brahmagupta and other subsequent astronomers. It is, in general, through these citations that Āryabhaṭa was known to be an eminent astronomer anterior to Brahmagupta in the beginning of the sixth century A. C. From the quotations of Brahmagupta we learn that Āryabhaṭa believed in the diurnal motion of the earth round its axis. "The starry sphere" he affirms "is stationary, and the earth making a revolution produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets." The idea of heliacal risings and settings of stars and planets was first fully developed in Europe by Copernicus in the fifteenth century, and before him, it was not recognised though some rudimentary hints were thrown by Pythagoras in the fifth century B.C. Āryabhaṭa promulgated the above theory in the sixth century A.C. at the latest. Hence we see that Mr. Kaye's statement that the Hindus borrowed the idea of heliacal risings and settings of stars and planets from the Greeks does not stand scrutiny. We are rather inclined to believe that this theory had its origin in India and was introduced in Europe through the Greek medium, by which it was given its present practical garb. The confusion as regards the correct date of Āryabhaṭa arises from the fact that most of the oriental scholars have failed to notice that there were two men of the name of Āryabhaṭa—one, the great astronomer who lived in the fifth century A.C. and the other, a mere commentator and compiler, who flourished in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.C. The latter wrote a commentary on Sūryasiddhānta. Dr. Bhau Daji says that the work mentioned by Alberuni as written by Āryabhaṭa is this commentary. If this be true we can infer that Sūryasiddhānta in its present form was current before the ninth century; but we

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have evidence enough to show that some portions of the Sūryasiddhānta were written even before the age of the Śulva-sūtras.

The name of Brahmagupta is held in high esteem by all Hindu writers. He flourished in the sixth century A.C. We know that there is not a single argument in the whole range of Greek Astronomy to prove why the earth, though spherical, appears flat to observers on earth. "The earth," says Brahmagupta, "stands firm by its own power without any other support in space. If there be a material support to the earth and another upholder of that and again another of this and so on without limit, and if finally self-support must be assumed, why not assume it in the first instance? Why not recognise it in this multiform earth? The earth possessing an attractive force draws towards itself any heavy substance situated in the surrounding atmosphere, and that subtance appears as if it fell (like a stone). But whither can the earth fall in ethereal space which is equal and alike on every side? ..... If the earth were falling, an arrow shot into the air would not return to it when the projectile force was expended, since both would descend ; nor can it be said that the earth moves slower and is overtaken by the arrow, for heaviest bodies fall quickest and the earth is the heaviest." Such reasonings can do credit even to modern astronomers.

Again why does not the earth appear spherical to men on earth? Āryabhaṭa in reply says:

"As the earth is a large body, and a man is exceedingly small, the whole visible portion of the earth consequently appears to a man on its surface, to be perfectly plane." We think this is a point gained by Hindu Astronomy over the Greek.

Next came Barāhamihira who also lived in the sixth century A.C. He was not an original writer but a compiler. One of the passages in his work, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, has led Mr. Kaye to think that Barāha admits that the Hindus have borrowed much from the Greeks. We shall presently show that he has misunderstood and misinterpreted the couplet referred to. He translates the couplet thus—"The Greeks, indeed, are foreigners, but with them this science is in a flourishing state. Hence they are honoured as though they are Ṛṣis." The couplet as written by Barāha is this :

Mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak śāstram idaṃ sthitam /
Ṛṣivat te' pi pūjyante kim punar daivavid dvijaḥ //

The translation should be as follows : "The Greeks are foreigners,

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with them also this science is in a flourishing state. Even they are honoured as Ṛṣis ; much more will be honoured a Brahmin versed in astrology." Scholars without sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit are likely to advance this couplet as a proof that the Hindus learned astronomy from the Yavanas (Greeks), but one should not fail to take notice of the fact that the above couplet occurs in the astrological section of Bṛhatsaṃhitā and also in connection with the word "Daivavid," meaning astrologer and not astronomer. From the Bṛhatsaṃhitā edited and translated by Pandit Sudhakar Dvivedi we find that the names of Yavana (Greek) teachers occur sixteen times and everytime in support of the views of Barāha as regards "lagnaśuddhi" and "vāraśuddhi" and at no time in support of astronomical facts.

The next point that engages our attention is the explanation for the planetary motions by the method of epicycles. Mr. Kaye argues that this was of Greek origin and the Hindus borrowed it from the Greeks. The first notion of the planetary motion was clearly stated in the first chapter of Sūryasiddhānta, and this, we are led to believe from the citations of ancient astronomers, existed in the oldest edition of Sūryasiddhānta, the date of which can be placed somewhere near the second or third century A.C.

"The planets in their orbits go rapidly and continually with the stars towards the west, and hang down at an equal distance as if overpowered (over-matched in speed) by the stars. Therefore, the motions of the planets appear towards the east, and their daily motions, determined by their revolutions, are unequal to each other in consequence of the circumstances of their orbits ; and by this unequal motion they pass the sign. The planet which moves rapidly requires a short time to pass the signs, and the planet that moves slowly passes the signs in a long time" (Sūryasiddhānta, chap. I, ślokas 25-27).

This notion that the motion of all the planets was caused by a velocity in their orbits, which was the same for all alike, was prevalent not only in India but also in Europe even to the times of Kepler and Newton. This is evident from the manner in which Kepler combated this doctrine and from the important use he made of it. Soon after the death of Tycho, Kepler "made many discoveries from Tycho's observations. He found that astronomers had erred from the beginning of the science in ascribing circular orbits to the planets. He easily saw that the higher planets not only moved in greater

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circles but also more slowly than nearer ones, so that on a double account their periodic times were greater."

This planetary motion the Hindus and the Greeks explained by means of epicycles. Āryabhaṭa ascribed to the epicycles by which motion of a planet was represented a form varying from the circle nearly to an ellipse. It was well-known to the Hindus that a supposed uniform motion in a circle about the earth did not really represent true motion in its orbits, although the hypothesis served sufficiently to determine the mean motions and the mean place of a planet when deduced from observations carried on for lengthened periods. They knew that every planet in its course was subject to great irregularities, the motion undergoing continual changes. At one time it would be direct towards the east until the planet reached a stationary point where it would seem to be at rest; then a retrograde motion would begin and continue for a time till another stationary point was reached, and the eastward motion was repeated. It was to account for these irregularities that the epicycle was invented. By the Greeks this contrivance was ascribed to Apollonius. He conceived that a planet in its course, described with uniform motion and the circumference of a circle, is called the epicycle, whose centre moved uniformly in the circumference of another circle, called the deferent, the centre of which was the centre of the earth. It was also supposed that, whilst the centre of the epicycle was moving eastward in the direction of the signs, the planet itself was moving in a direction opposite to that of the sign. By this hypothesis it was easy to show the various changes in the motion of the planets. This theory was generally adopted by western nations with the addition of other epicycles, introduced by Ptolemy, necessary for expressing the apparent motions with accuracy. But the Hindus had two different methods for calculating the true place of a planet from its "mean place" as determined by the rules of Siddhāntaśiromaṇi (chap. II). One of these methods resembled that of Apollonious, but there was also considerable difference, viz., that whilst the planet moved uniformly in its epicycle, whose centre moved in the deferent concentric with the earth, the epicycle itself was conceived to be variable, the circumference being the greatest when the planet was in an apsis (at Apogee or Perigee the true and mean places being then coincident), and the least when the planet was at a distance of 90° from the points. The other method supposes that, while the mean place of a planet is a point moving uniformly east-

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ward round the circumference of an equal but eccentric circle, whose centre is situated in the line joining the Apogee with the centre of the earth, the distance from it is the eccentricity. These two methods of calculation, whether by assuming the motions as being in an eccentric or in an epicycle, give exactly the same results. The theories of epicyclical and eccentric motion of planets are beautifully put in the second chapter of Sūryasiddhānta and the fifth chapter of Siddhāntaśiromaṇi. A lengthy comparison of the Hindu and Greek methods together with the remarks of Bhāskara by means of figures and mathematical calculations will require an independent paper on the subject. But we hope that the main point of the Greek and Hindu epicyclical theories that have already been mentioned will convince one that unlike the epicycles of Ptolemy and other Greek astronomers, the Indian epicycles had a variable circumference, that of the first epicycle being the largest at Apogee and Perigee, varying from those points through the deferent to its places at the quardrants, where its circumferences were the least. Now we believe we may be permitted to draw the conclusion that the two different methods of the Hindus and the Greeks grew up side by side without the one being influenced by the other ; for astronomical arguments point to a possibility, if not a certainty, of this kind of coincidence.

Next in importance comes the question of discovery of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Mr. Kaye has taken it for granted, *a priori*, that the division originated in Greece and thence was borrowed by the Hindu astronomers. We shall show that astronomical arguments lead to the very opposite conclusion. Here we shall follow the admirable treatment of the question by Prof. Dr. D. N. Mallik in the course of one of his lectures : "The Hindu astronomers had two systems of reckoning: the lunar mansions or the *Tithis* and the signs of the Zodiac or the *Rāśis*, the first being obviously the earlier of the two. For, while the moon's motion among the stars is a matter of direct observation, the solar motion in its relation to the stars could only be observed by an indirect method, on account of the fact that his light shuts out of view all stars in his neighbourhood. On the other hand, the moon's motion is much more irregular than that of the sun. The observation of the sun's motion, therefore, came gradually to be recognised as a matter of practical as well as of scientific importance and the method of signs or Rāśis ultimately superseded that of the Tithis. As to the lunar system of the

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Hindus, its high antiquity is testified to by the fact that the primitive series opened with Kṛttikā (the Pleiades) as the sign of the vernal equinox. But this arrangement would be correct only about 2300 B.C. and nowhere else would be found a well-authenticated Zodiacal sequence of so early a date. If this be granted, it seems to be very probable that the method of signs was evolved in India, for the method of tithis which is admitted to be peculiar in India may be regarded as the parent of the method of signs, and we are thus almost able to trace a gradual evolution along lines well-recognised by the science of the system of signs." The Hindu astronomers divided the Ecliptic and the Zodiac into 28 parts (and then into 27) forming so many groups of stars in the path of the moon, each division corresponding with the space of the moon's daily motion through them. The groups were consequently called lunar asterisms. The ancient Hindu astronomers chose a set of 27 principal stars, one for each of the 27 lunar constellations, in general the brightest star of the asterism, and called it Yoga-tārā, whilst the asterism-cluster was named the Nakṣatra. The Yoga-tārā was connected with the beginning or first point on the Ecliptic of the division, representing the space of the asterism by the small arc of apparent difference of longitude between them, this arc being called the Bhoga of the asterism. Thus the 27 divisions of the ecliptic became as fixed in position as the stars themselves, like a great fixed dial, with the numbers ranging not along the Equator but along the Ecliptic itself.

From the above arguments, and from investigations of Prof. Weber and Colebrooke we deduce that the Hindus founded their lunar mansions which the Arabs (by the name of Manzil) and the Chinese (by the name of Sieu) borrowed. We also know that the Greeks were not possessed of the system of lunar mansions. Prof. Weber, however, propounded the view that the system originated in Babylon. Such a view can no longer be maintained, since we have now to admit that the Babylonian system is based on the sun's motions. Now if the view advocated above that the lunar system must be of older date than that which is based on the sun's motions be correct, we must admit that the Babylonian system must needs have been derived by adoption. Hence we are justified in inferring that if the Hindus can claim to be the originators of the system of lunar mansions, they have an equal right to claim to be the propounders of the system dependent on the division of the Zodiac.

The next point that engages our attention is the question of para-

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llax. Mr. Kaye says that the idea of parallax in Hindu Astronomy is also borrowed from the Greeks. We are not prepared to accept his theory which is not supported by reasons. The Hindus, we know, were at a very early date well-acquainted with all facts relating to eclipses. They had rules of calculating the various phases of both the lunar and solar eclipses, i.e., the times of their beginning, middle and end which are set forth in the various astronomical works. The correction of parallax in latitude and longitude is of great importance in calculating eclipses accurately and hence we are led to believe that the Hindus had a thorough knowledge of this phenomenon even in the Vedic ages when eclipses were calculated for religious purposes. Bhāskara in his Siddhāntaśiromaṇi quotes several couplets from ancient astronomers explaining the importance of the correction of parallax in calculating eclipses. Barāhamihira in his Pañchasiddhāntikā also elaborately deals with it under a section of Sūrya-siddhānta. The question will be dealt with at a considerable length separately.

These are some of the points that present themselves to one engaged in studying Hindu Astronomy. The remarks of many an oriental scholar that the Hindus have not received the credit due to their astronomical science and the publications of Mr. Kaye and Dr. D. E. Smith have led me to adduce some proofs of the advanced stage of astronomical knowledge reached by the Hindus without any outside aid. We hope, however, that every one will admit that there are many points in Hindu astronomy which for their scientific importance must rank first in the history of the science.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

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Ranjit Singh's Civil Administration

(*Based mainly on the records in the Imperial Record Department*)

The records in the Punjab relating to the Civil Administration of Ranjit Singh have not yet been published. In their absence, in giving an account of Ranjit's Civil Administration, I have to content myself with what I can glean from the writings of contemporary authors and from the references to the previous administration contained in the reports of the British officers engaged in making a settlement after the annexation of the Punjab. Besides these, in the Imperial Record Department there are many contemporary records which contain information with regard to the Punjab supplied to the political Agent or by him to the Governor General. Though these do not refer generally to Civil Administration, yet much valuable information in that connection can be gleaned from them. I have followed a rather non-orthodox method in relying upon the reports of, what may be called an enemy government. I could have relied more upon the non-official sources of information, viz., the foreign travellers. But as I have relied more upon the British official sources of information, whatever may be said in these pages in favour of Ranjit Singh is more valuable than it otherwise would have been.

In Civil Administration, the paramount department to which all other departments were subordinate was the fiscal department. The officers upon whom Ranjit Singh mainly depended for the administration of this department may be divided into the following three classes:

(1) Men of wealth, position and influence who were sent to the distant provinces as farmers of revenue, e. g., Golab Singh, Hari Singh, and others.

(2) The military chiefs who held feudal demesnes on the condition of sending contingents in the field had also a limited authority within their jurisdiction.

(3) The Kardars or agents whose power varied according to the influence they possessed at the courts. The pay of these local tax-gatherers and other secondary officers varied and was mostly uncertain and precarious. It was tacitly understood that they were to live by the perquisites of their appointment.[1]

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1 Foreign Department Miscellaneous, no. 356; Report of the Board of Administration, Lahore, p.17.

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From the fiscal point of view the Punjab was divided into districts, leased out, granted or directly administered.

The arrangements for the auditing of accounts were for many years notoriously defective. It was not till about the end of the Maharaja's reign that financial order was introduced. For a long time there were no office accounts, Ranjit Singh relying mainly on his tenacious memory and such crude devices as the notching of a stick. The complication of accounts in the district treasuries facilitated embezzlement. Ranjit Singh himself knew this quite well; he therefore sometimes called upon his servants to pay fees or 'aids' and if they refused to disgorge he would plunder them.[1]

Land Tax.—According to the Sikh System, the Government share was assumed to be a half at least of the gross produce. There are instances in which as much as 54% was demanded. Whenever revenue was collected in kind, a deduction of 10 to 15 per cent. must be made for expenses, fraud and waste. On the whole, the public demand may be said to have been between $\frac{2}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gross produce. In Multan and the Trans-Indus region it seldom exceeded $\frac{1}{8}$ of the gross produce.

In September, 1847, Raja Dinanath furnished the following abstract of land revenue.[2]

No. of District	Mode of Collection	Amount of Revenue
8	Farmed out to Kardars	25,49,873
8	Assessed, the engagements being made with the heads of villages	18,23,556
43	Revenue collected by division and appraisement of the crop.	89,44,658

We have no reason to think that the state of things was much different in the time of Ranjit.

Excise and Customs.—Throughout the whole country there was a net work of preventive lines. At the same set of stations excise duties, customs duties, town duties and transit duties etc. were all levied, without any distinction as to whether the goods were domestic or foreign. No distinction was made between luxuries and necessaries. The whole country being intersected by preventive lines both lengthwise and breadthwise, no goods could escape Government duties and

1 Ibid., p. 19.

2 Foreign Department Miscellaneous, no. 357, p. 165.

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everything was taxed at least a dozen times. There was no principle involved in this taxation except the principle of extracting the maximum possible out of everything. Even many agricultural commodities of the Punjab were liable to these taxes after having paid their full share of the land tax. Ranjit overlooked few taxes, which have been levied in any country civilized or uncivilized. His taxation embraced "everything, every locality, every thoroughfare, every town and village, every article, wherever sold, imported or exported, domestic or foreign,"[1] Ranjit's taxation had at least one great merit. It was not uneven. In spite of these handicaps, commerce was in a thriving condition.

So far as Salt Tax was concerned, there was no scale of duties. Mines were farmed out. So long as the farmers paid the full share due to the State, they were not hampered by the State. There was, however, a considerable laxity in the system. The farmers allowed the merchants to carry off big consignments after giving bonds which were to be paid up after the disposal of the commodity. In this way, the merchants fell heavily into debts with the farmers, who on their turn, fell heavily into arrears with the State. By this system of salt tax, the State revenues suffered, not the consumers. The farmers had to accommodate the supply to the demand. Salt was also liable to duties when in transit.

According to record no. 357 of the Miscellaneous section of the Foreign Department, Excise and Customs under Ranjit Singh may be analysed thus[2] :

	Number of articles	Yield
Imports	7	3,62,697
Exports	19	9,74,861
Imports and Exports	4	1,37,739
Miscellaneous	18	1,61,817
Total ...	48	16,36,114

Nurtured in the pursuits of war, without education and altogether ignorant of the principles of political economy, he did not understand the advantage of doing away with the internal barriers so far as commerce and industry were concerned. But his Government was

1 Foreign Department Miscellaneous, no. 357, p. 215.
2 Foreign Department Miscellaneous, no. 357, p. 219.

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not unnecessarily oppressive as will be apparent from the following extracts :

"Last year owing to the effects of the famine, grain was distributed to the Zemindars and others both for sowing and subsistence.[1]

"Khark Singh was ordered to proceed to Multan and to take care that the cultivation along the way was not damaged by his people.[2]

"Remission of rents of Rs. 5000 was made in the case of Rotas for the continuance of the Maharaja's camp."[3]

Wade himself once admits that "he was well-inclined to the interests of his merchants" so far of course as his limited ideas in the sphere of commerce and industry would allow.[4]

Finally, we should note one thing in particular about Ranjit Singh's fiscal administration. The resources of the country were undoubtedly strained by this taxation, but in some respects the Government gave back with one hand what it had taken with the other. The employments of the state were numerous and every Jat village sent recruits for the army who sent their savings home. Many a village paid half its revenue from the earnings of these military men. Again, the presence of a vast army created an immense demand for manufactures, and commerce could thus bear up against a heavy load of taxation. The growth of the flourishing commercial city of Amritsar is a case in point.

Judicial Administration.—There were no special officers for the dispensation of civil justice or for the execution of criminal law. The exercise by the chiefs of the function of the judge in all civil and criminal cases dispensed with the establishment of regular courts of law.

There was no written law. Still, some sort of justice was dealt out. "Private property in land, the relative rights of land-holders and cultivators, the corporate capacity of village communities were all recognised. Under the direction of local authorities, private arbitration was extensively resorted to. The Qazis and Qanungoes exercised privately and indirectly those functions which had descended to them since the Imperial times. The former continued to ordain marriage ceremonies, to register testaments and attest deeds, the latter to declare recorded facts and expound local customs."

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1 Political Proceedings, 31st August, 1836, no. 57.

2 Ibid., 29th August, 1836, no. 32.

3 Ibid., 7th August, 1837, no. 94.

4 Ibid., 21st November, 1836, no. 30.

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The Maharaja made extensive tours and he heard appeals; he generally severely rebuked the Governors of those regions in which too many appeals were made. He also heard appeals at courts.

The police officers were in most cases political and military rather than civil. Their business was to check disturbances and to make arrangements for the marching of troops.

Justice was not so much a national as a local concern. It was left to the feudatories; but these being men of the locality could not go far. Custom and caprice were the substitutes for *lex Scripta*. There was a strong disinclination to inflict capital punishment. Crimes and trespasses were generally atoned for by fines. Imprisonment was almost unknown and capital punishments rare. But in distant and disturbed provinces, e.g., Peshawar and Hazara, the case was different.

Many defects there were undoubtedly in Ranjit's judicial administration and police system, but to his credit it must be acknowledged, if Masson (writing in 1826) is to be believed, that the predatory propensity of the Sikh people was to a great extent kept under restraint. "Time was that a Sikh and a robber were synonymous terms; now few thefts are heard of, and seldom or ever those wholesale forays to which the chiefs were so much addicted."

The centre of the whole system of Government, the pivot of the whole structure, was of course the Maharaja. The entire direction of affairs lay in him. Late in the reign of the Maharaja, Diwan Bhowani Das divided the transactions of the affairs of State into different offices or departments. There were twelve daftars or offices where the civil and military business of the Government were arranged. Diwan Dinanath was at the head of them. Bhai Ram Singh, Govinda Ram, Fakir Azizuddin assisted Ranjit in civil matters. The Fakir also acted as the Chief Secretary for foreign affairs. The letters of business were also frequently written by him. Misr Beli Ram was in charge of the Regalia and the Treasury, Khashal Singh was in charge of the Deodhee in which he was later replaced by Raja Diwan Singh.

Centralisation was mainly financial. The Sikh Government was prepared not only to allow subordinate rights to remain but also to preserve them. The village communities might have been discontinued and deprived of their ancestral rights though less heavily taxed; in that case the misfortune would have been greater. Mr. Temple in his report on the settlement of the district of Jullundhar says,

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"As things stood there have been no convulsions, no confusion of rights and properties. The springs of society had been overstrained perhaps, but they only required removal of the pressure, no delicate readjustment was needed."

The civil Government of Ranjit was not based on solid forms and institutions. There was a want of fixed principles and fixed systems. With the help of the standing army was the treasury in many cases filled and control exercised over distant officers and jagirdars. The personal influence of the head of the state formed the sole hold upon the discipline and affections of the troops. This reliance upon the military element for the civil Government was a great mistake. Still, considering the traditions of Sikh rule in the period and the elements that he had to control, we should form a favourable opinion about Ranjit Singh's civil administration.

Ranjit as a civil administrator compares unfavourably with Śivājī. But Śivājī had the Malik Ambar and the Adil Sāhi tradition to follow. The history of the Punjab before Ranjit Singh was one of anarchy. Ranjit had no tradition to inspire, no example to follow. It was quite in the nature of things that power, as he understood it, was military power, not even material not to speak of moral power.

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA

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Eastern India and Aryavarta

Eastern India, it has been supposed, was inhabited by non-Aryan peoples in the Vedic age, and in the opinion of some, it has remained predominantly non-Aryan in blood even at the present day, the civilisation of Bihar and Bengal including the systems of religious thought propounded by Mahāvīra and Gautama being regarded as a non-Aryan civilisation evolved independently of Vedic thought and culture. Others, again, while agreeing with the view that the Easterners were outside the Vedic civilisation and culture, hold that they are Aryans, though of a different type, that they represent a later wave of Aryan migration into India than that of the Vedic Aryans, and that when they entered India, these later immigrants, finding the Vedic Aryans in occupation of the middle region of northern India (the Madhyadeśa), proceeded lower down and leaving aside the table-land of central India, descended towards the east and occupied Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. An examination of the Vedic texts, and of the subsidiary literature in general, appears, however, to give a different version of the history of Aryan migration into the eastern provinces of India. They prove beyond doubt that even in the early Vedic age, before the advent of the Brāhmaṇa literature, Eastern India was in the occupation of the Vedic Aryans and besides, we find distinct traditions of an East Indian origin of some of the most important elements of the Vedic civilisation suggesting that the Indo-Aryans had spread over the whole of northern India before the Vedic culture reached its maturity ; moreover, there does not appear to have been any occasion for the Indo-Aryans, in their march towards the east, of making a circuitous detour round the Vindhyas. Anthropological evidence also corroborates the conclusion arrived at on literary and philological grounds. The round-headed Aryans (*Homo Indo-Europæus brachimorphus*), who are now found in eastern and south-western India, had evidently been settled in Hindustan for some time and had already evolved a civilisation when they were pushed forward by the new arrivals, the long-headed Aryans (*Homo Indo-Europæus dolichomorphus*), who expanded and developed the culture which they absorbed from the earlier settlers.

The Problem stated.

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It is inconceivable that a people with such a native spirit of adventure and expansion as their earliest national records prove the Vedic Aryans to have been, should remain shut up for centuries in a small district in north-western India without appreciating and taking advantage of the numerous facilities for expansion that the open, boundless plains to the east offered to them, seeing that between the Indus and the Brahmaputra there was nothing to withstand their progress, no desert, neither a mountain, nor a wide stretch of water. The call to wander forth (*caraiveti*) went amongst them ; they recognised, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* declares, that "there is no prosperity to a man who does not weary himself (with wandering)."[1] "Evil (*pāpa*) is he," says the same ancient Brāhmaṇa work, "who stayeth among men, and Indra is the comrade of the wanderer."[2]

Vedic Aryans a Wandering Race.

"Flower-like the heels of the wanderer,
His body groweth and is fruitful ;
All his sins disappear,
Slain by the toil of his journeying.
"The fortune of him who sitteth also sitteth,
But that of him who standeth standeth erect ;
That of him that reclineth lieth down ;
The fortune of him that moveth shall move indeed.
"Wandering one findeth honey,
Wandering the sweet Udumbara fruit,
Consider the pre-eminence of the sun,
Who wearieth never of wandering."[3]

The things that attracted the Vedic Indian in his onward movements, the things that he looked for in selecting a site for a new settlement, were primarily those providing facilities for his daily worship, for paying his daily homage to the gods, in his particular method of making offerings in fire in accordance with rites that had already acquired sanctity by ancient usage at the time when we first meet him in the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda. For this

Eastern India fulfilled the conditions of Indo-Aryan Settlement.

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1 नानाश्रान्ताय श्रीरस्तीति ।—*Ait. Br.*, vii. 15.

2 पापो नृषद्वरो जन इन्द्र इच्चरतः सखा ।—*Ibid.*

3 पुष्पिण्यौ चरतो जंघे भूष्णुरात्मा फलग्रहिः ।
शेरेऽस्य सर्वे पाप्मानः श्रमेण प्रपथे हताः ॥

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purpose he needed water, fuel and milk and its products in abundance. The luxuriant Indian forests extending in every direction supplied him abundantly with fire-wood (*samidh*) for his sacrificial fire which had to be kept up throughout life from year's end to year's end without any break, the innumerable streams that intersect the country placed water within his easy reach everywhere, and the open wide stretches of the plains of the Ganges valley offered a soft and alluvial soil that yielded easily to his plough and provided a plentiful pasture to his herds that supplied him with milk and butter to be offered in his sacrificial fire.

Āryāvarta and Kriṣṇasāra.

Another indispensable requisite of his divine service, which the Vedic Indian prized very highly and which was not easily available everywhere, was the skin of the Kṛṣṇasāra, the black buck or Indian antelope ;—*Brahmaṇa etad rūpam yat Kṛṣṇājinam*—'The skin of the Kṛṣṇasāra is the visible form of the Brahman,' (that is, of the Veda), declares the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[1] and the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* asserts that Kṛṣṇājina, the skin of the black buck is the visible form of *Brahmavarcas* or spiritual pre-eminence acquired by a study of the Vedas.[2] The highly valued black antelope thus came to determine finally whether a country was fit for Aryan settlement. Wherever roamed the Kṛṣṇasāra Mṛga with its soft and glossy fell, there the Vedic Aryan could proceed without any let or hindrance. As the open plains of Eastern India counted this valuable animal among their natural denizens, the Vedic Indians advanced to the farthest limits in that direction even up to where the sun rises in the east, until they were stopped by the ever thickening jungle. Thus a verse (*gāthā*), which has been preserved in a quotation from an ancient Brāhmaṇa text which is no longer extant, says in connection with Āryāvarta, or the region where the Āryas

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आस्ते भग: आसीनस्योर्ध्वस्तिष्ठति तिष्ठत: ।
शेते निपद्यमानस्य चराति चरतो भग: ॥
चरन् वै मधु विन्दति चरन् स्वादुमुदुम्बरम् ।
सूर्यस्य पश्य श्रेमाणं यो न तन्द्रयते चरन् ॥

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 15—English translation by Prof. A. B. Keith (*Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 302f.)

1 *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, v, 4, 4, 4.

2 कृष्णाजिनेऽध्यभिषिञ्चत एतद् वै प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्मवर्चसं ब्रह्मवर्चस एवाध्यभिषिच्यते ।—*Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, xvii. 11, 8. Sāyaṇa explains *Brahma-varcas* as श्रुताध्ययन-सम्पत्ति: (Sāyaṇa on TMBr., i, 2,4) or श्रुताध्ययनजन्यतेज: (on TMBr., ii, 5,2) etc.

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lived, that spiritual pre-eminence accruing from a study of the Vedas (*brahmavarcas*) is found in the whole of the country that extends from the Indus which marks the western boundary-line, as far in the east as the black antelope wanders, even up to the region where the sun rises. It will be observed that it lays down a definite line on the west, but eastward there was no limit, and the Āryas had proceeded as far as the Kṛṣṇasāra roamed ; in the east there was nothing that stopped them up to the farthest limit of the habitable region, provided, of course, that the black antelope was present there to help them at their sacrificial rites. There is nothing strange in the fact that the ancient Ṛṣis that composed that Brāhmaṇa passage, defined the habitat of the Āryas as corresponding with the range of the Indian antelope, *Oryx cervicapra*, because, as Blanford observes, the genus to which it belongs is peculiar to India and is not found elsewhere. In India, however, its range is very wide : "This antelope," we quote from the same authority, "is found in suitable localities, chiefly open plains with grass of moderate height, from the Indus to Assam and from the base of the Himālayas to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. Formerly it was far more abundant, and in the first half of the nineteenth century it was seen occasionally in vast herds 8,000 to 10,000 in number ; but its numbers have been greatly reduced since rifles have become common."[1] Prof. Bühler also observes,[2] "It deserves to be noted that the black antelope (black-buck), *Oryx cervicapra*, selects for its home the well-cultivated, rich plains of India only, and is entirely wanting in the sandy, mountainous or forest districts, which are now, just as in ancient times, the portion of the aboriginal tribes."

Āryāvarta of the Bhāllavins.

It is now necessary to examine this all important passage from the Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāllavins in some detail in order to adjudge the exact value of the evidence offered by it. This passage has been quoted by both Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana in their Dharmasūtras. Vasiṣṭha, in winding up a discussion on the limits of Āryāvarta or the country of the Āryas, brings forward the following as a last alternative definition of that area :[3] "Others (state) as an alternative, that

1 Blanford (W. T.), *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New ed., i, 235.

2 S. B. E., xiv, 3.

3 यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तावद्ब्रह्मवर्चसमित्यन्ये । अथापि भाल्लविनो निदानं गाथामुदाहरन्ति ।

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spiritual pre-eminence (is found) as far as the black antelope grazes." Now the Bhāllavins quote also (the following) verse in the Nidāna: "In the west the boundary is the Sindhu, in the east the region where the sun rises,—as far as the black antelope wanders (between these two limits), so far spiritual pre-eminence derived from a study of the Vedas is found."[1] Baudhāyana also rounds up a similar discussion with this quotation:[2] "Now the Bhāllavins quote also the following verse. "In the west the boundary is the Sindhu (Indus), in the east the region where the sun rises,—as far as the black antelopes wander (between these two limits), so far spiritual pre-eminence (is found)".[3] The Bhāllavins who are here quoted by Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana represent a school studying the Sāmaveda as Govindasvāmin declares[4] in his commentary, the *Vivaraṇa*, on Baudhāyana. The *Bṛhaddevatā* refers to the Bhāllavins and their Brāhmaṇa in the following verse:[5] "This couplet is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāllavins. Such is the Vedic passage (quoted) in the work entitled Nidāna of the Sāmavedins (Chandogas)," that is, as Prof. Macdonell explains, "the Nidāna book contains a quotation mentioning these stanzas from the Bhāllavi Brāhmaṇa."[6] It is apparent that the stanza of the Bhāllavins, which Vasiṣṭha speaks of as met with in the Nidāna, is also a quotation made in the latter from the original Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāllavins who represent a school of the Sāmaveda.[7] It is very

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पश्चात्सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः। यावत् कृष्णोऽभिधावति तावद्वै ब्रह्मवर्चसमिति। *Vas. Dhs.*, i, 13—15.

1 Bühler, S.B.E., xiv, 3-4. I have slightly modified the translation of Prof. Bühler who renders the phrase *Sindhur-vidhāraṇī* by the 'boundary river,' taking *Sindhu* to mean simply a river; but here the particular river, *Sindhu* or Indus, is apparently meant. *Brahmavarcas* also has been translated in accordance with Sāyaṇa (see *ante*).

2 अथाप्यत्र भाल्लविनो गाथामुदाहरन्ति। पश्चात् सिन्धुर्विधरणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः। यावत् कृष्णो विधावन्ति तावद्वै ब्रह्मवर्चसमिति॥ *Bau. Dh.* edited by Dr. E. Hultzsch, I,1,2, 11-12.

3 S.B.E., xiv, 147.

4 आर्यावर्तान्तरप्रदर्शनार्थं भाल्लविनः छन्दोगविशेषाः। Mysore ed. of *Bau. Dhs.*, p. 11.

5 एष एव परामृष्टो भाल्लविब्राह्मणे द्वाचः। निदानसंज्ञके ग्रन्थे छन्दोगानामिति श्रुतिः॥ *Bṛhaddevatā*, v. 23.

6 *Bṛhaddevatā*, trans. by Macdonell, part ii, pp. 171 f.

7 Weber (*History of Indian Literature*, pp. 95, 134) is certainly wrong in considering the Bhāllavins as a school of the Black Yajus. He himself admits, "That the Bhāllavins belong to the Black Yajus

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likely that the original Bhāllavi Brāhmaṇa which is not extant at the present day, had already become rare at the time when Vasiṣṭha wrote, his knowledge of the work being derived from the Nidāna alone. Śaunaka, the author of *Bṛhaddevatā*, also appears to derive his knowledge of the *Bhāllavi-Brāhmaṇa* from the Nidāna-grantha of the Sāmavedins, although he has another quotation which he attributes to the Bhāllaveyī Śruti.[1] The *Bhāṣikasūtra* of Kātyāyana says that the Brāhmaṇa accentuation is used in the works of the Tāṇḍins and the Bhāllavins, that is, in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* and the *Bhāllavi-Brāhmaṇa*, just as in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[2] The joint mention of Tāṇḍin and Bhāllavin in this passage of the *Bhāṣikasūtra* indicates that both of them belonged to the Sāmaveda. Afterwards, it appears, the growing popularity of the *Tāṇḍya* which came to acquire the appellation of a *Mahābrāhmaṇa*, tended to the suppression and disappearance of the text of the Bhāllavins.[3]

Antiquity of the Bhāllavi Brāhmaṇa

That the Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāllavins was an ancient Brāhmaṇa appears from a Sanskrit idiom referred to by Pāṇini who distinguishes between ancient Brāhmaṇas and later Brāhmaṇas. He says that "the affix—*ṇini* comes in the sense of 'enounced by him' after a word in the third case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by *ancient sages*."[4] Kātyāyana in a Vārttika added to this sūtra, announces: "This idiom will not apply in the case of Yājñavalkya and others, as they are contemporaries";[5] and the *Kāśikāvṛtti* in illustrating this sūtra, says that in speaking of the Bhāllavins, the proper expression would be *Bhāllavinaḥ*, while works of Yājñavalkya should be designated *Yājñavalkyāni*

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is, however, still uncertain. I only conclude so at present from the fact that Bhāllaveya is the name of a teacher specially attacked and censured in the Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajus."

1 तच्चाद येऽद्यापि वासिष्ठाः सदस्याः सास्तु कर्हिचित्। अर्हयेद दचियाभिस्तान् भाल्लवेयी श्रुतिस्त्रियम्॥ *Bṛhaddevatā*, v, 159.

2 शतपथवत्ताख्ति-भाल्लविनाम्ब्राह्मणस्वरः॥ *Bhāṣikasūtra*, 33. *Ind. Stud.*, x, 421.

3 Cf. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 12-14.

4 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु। *Pāṇini*, iv, 3, 105—Trans. S. C. Vasu.

5 याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात्। See *Mahābhāṣya* on P., iv, 3 105.

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Brāhmaṇāni.[1] The *Mahābhāṣya* gives this last along with *Saulabhāni* as illustrations of the recent Brāhmaṇas, but it has not given any example of the older works. But Patañjali in another connection indicates the Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāllavins with the word *Bhāllavinah*,[2] showing that he considered it an ancient Brāhmaṇa.[3] From what has been said above, it will be abundantly clear that the opinion of of the Bhāllavins about the limits of the country where the Vedic religion had spread, is taken from a Brāhmaṇa work which was looked upon as ancient when Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana wrote their Dharmasūtras. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* quotes the opinions of Bhāllaveya with regard to sacrificial matters in several places[4] and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* refers to Bhāllaveya in general as well as to Āṣāḍha and Indradyumna Bhāllaveya.[5] The *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* which is one of the most ancient of the existing Brāhmaṇas[6] and which is considered by Weber to be older than even the White Yajurveda,[7] mentions the Bhāllavis as a distinct school.[8] There can, therefore, be no doubt about the antiquity of the Bhāllavi school and their dictum that the land of the Vedic Āryas extended from the Indus in the west up to the farthest grazing land of the black buck in the east, that is, up to the borders of Assam, proves conclusively that the whole of northern India was oocupied by the Vedic Aryans before that ancient Brāhmaṇa work was composed ; the Vedic Aryans must therefore, have settled in Eastern India in the Mantra period.

It is significant that the two works on law that have the greatest authority among the followers of the Ārya-dharma even at the present day, have preserved the ancient tradition of the Bhāllavins about

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1 ब्राह्मणेषु तावत्, भाल्लविनः, शाट्यायनिनः, ऐतरेयिणः। पुराणप्रोक्तं त्विति किम्? याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि याज्ञवल्क्यादयोऽचिरकाला इत्याख्यानेषु वार्त्ता। तया व्यवहरति सूतकारः। *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on P., iv, 3, 105.

2 त्रिनिरन्नो वासिब्राह्मणेभ्यः। भाल्लविनः। *Mahābhāṣya* on P., iv, 2, 104.

3 See Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 2nd edition, 360 ff.

4 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 4, 2, 3 ; xiii, 5, 3.

5 Caland, *Das Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, i, 232, 460 ; ii. 317 etc.

6 cf. Winternitz *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, p. 166.

7 Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 68.

8 तामेतां भाल्लवय उपासते तस्यास्ते प्रतिगृह्णन्तः परीवर्तान्न चवन्ते। TMBr., ii. 2, 4.

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the identity of the Vedic Aryandom with the range of the black buck. Yājñavalkya even at the very outset of his work on law, says addressing the sages who sought him for enlightenment on matters of *dharma*, that is, 'law and custom': "Listen to the *dharma* prevalent in the land where the black antelope (ranges.)"[1] The Mānava Dharmaśāstra is still more explicit about the country forming the habitat of the Aryans. "The tract," says the Mānava code, "between those two mountains (Himavat and Vindhya), which extends as far as the eastern and the western oceans, the wise call Āryāvarta (the country of the Aryans). The land where the black antelope naturally roams, one must know to be fit for the performance of sacrifices; (the tract) different from that (is) the country of the Mlecchas (barbarians)."[2] This shows very clearly that according to Manu, the whole of northern India between the two oceans and the two mountain ranges of the Himālayas and the Vindhyas was considered as the land of the Aryans, and as the region where the Vedic religion of sacrifice prevailed. When we remember that the present *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* is only Bhṛgu's recension of the Institutes of the Sacred Law proclaimed by Manu and that, in all probability, it is derived from an ancient work on law of a Vedic *caraṇa*, as Prof. Bühler has shown,[3] the conclusion is forced upon us that this conception of Āryāvarta represents the ancient tradition of the Mānavas who like the Bhāllavins held the whole of northern India between the two seas to be the country of the Āryas.

Āryāvarta of Manu and Yājñavalkya

At the same time, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that according to Manu, the greatest centre of the Aryan culture where the ancient customs had been preserved in their purity, was considered to be the Brahmāvarta country lying between the two divine rivers, the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, and next to it, the country of the Brahmarṣis comprising the Doab from the neighbourhood of Delhi up to Mathurā. Next, coming to the central region, he states that "the (country) which (lies) between the Himavat and the Vindhya (mountain), to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana (the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears) is called Madhyadeśa (the central region)."[4] It should be observed that the *Madhyadeśa*

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1 यस्मिन् देशे मृगः कृष्णस्तस्मिन् धर्मान् निबोधत। *Yājñavalkya*, i, 2.

2 *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, ii, 12-23 (S. B. E., xxv, p. 33).

3 S.B.E., xxv, pp. xi—xiv. 4 *Manu*, ii, 17-20 (S.B.E., xxv, 33).

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thus defined includes both the *Brahmāvarta* and *Brahmarṣi* countries which were recognised as small districts deserving of special sanctity in comparison with the rest of the Midland itself. Lest people should construe, however, that any of the regions as thus defined, formed the only region where the Vedic Aryans resided, Manu's Code proceeds immediately afterwards to point out that they occupied the whole of northern India and that twice-born men should seek to dwell in all the countries included in Āryāvarta stretching between the two seas.[1] There is no insinuation against Eastern India as being unoccupied by the Aryans or as being unfit for habitation by them, but only that the tract called *Madhyadeśa*, lying between the Sarasvatī and Allahabad was regarded with special veneration, as being associated with the growth and development of the Vedic culture, and as having preserved the ancient traditions in their purity. Aśvaghoṣa, writing in the first or the second century A. C. appears to have been aware of the above definition of Madhyadeśa, as in his *Saundarananda-kāvya*, he compares king Śuddhodana between his two sons, viz., the Bodhisattva and Nanda, to the Madhyadeśa between the Himavat and Pāripātra.[2]

The insinuations against Eastern India, though absent from Manu, are, however, to be found in certain alternative definitions of Āryāvarta given in Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, writers who represent the very time when the prejudices against the East were just growing and some purists, in the excess of their regard for the customs of the Midland, between the Sarasvatī and Allahabad, did not hesitate to confine the Ārya land itself within those boundaries. Thus, Vasiṣṭha after laying down that on failure of the revealed texts and the tradition of the sages in indicating the *Dharma* about any matter, recourse is to be had to the practice of the *śiṣṭas* or cultured men, lays down, "The country of the Āryas (Āryāvarta) lies in the east of the region where (the river Sarasvatī) disappears, to the west of the Kālakavana (Black forest), to the north of the Pāripātra (mountains), to the south of the Himālaya) and to the north of the Vindhya range (being limited east and west by the two oceans). Acts productive of spiritual merit, and

Āryāvarta of Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana

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1 एतान् द्विजातयो देशान् संश्रयेरन् प्रयत्नतः। *Manu*, ii, 24.

2 तयोः सत्पुत्रयोर्मध्ये शाक्यराजो रराज सः।
मध्यदेश इव व्यक्तो हिमवत्पारिपात्रयोः॥ *Saundarananda-kāvya*, ii, 62.

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customs which (are approved of) in that country, must be everywhere acknowledged (as authoritative); but not different ones, (i. e. those of countries where) laws opposed (to those of Āryāvarta prevail). Some (declare the country of the Āryas to be situated) between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Others (state as) an alternative, that *Brahmavarcas*, (spiritual pre-eminence) [derived from a study of the Vedas] (is found) as far as the black antelope grazes."[1] Next, he winds up the whole with the verse from the Bhāllavins we have discussed before. Similarly, Baudhāyana, after adverting to the tradition of the *śiṣṭas*, says: "The country of the Āryas (Āryāvarta) lies to the east of the region where (the river Sarasvatī) disappears, to the west of the Black forest (Kālakavana), to the north of the Pāripātra (mountains), to the south of the Himālaya. The rule of conduct which (prevails) there is authoritative. Some (declare) the country between the (rivers) Yamunā and Ganges (to be the Āryāvarta)".[2] Last of all he quotes the Bhāllavi-gāthā already referred to.

Kālakavana

Now, with regard to the extent of the Āryāvarta, both Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana give three different opinions of which the first confining the Ārya country between the Himālaya and the Pāripātra mountains and between the Sarasvatī and Kālakavana, represents their own personal view. The Pāripātra mountain is recognised as identical with the Aravalli chain and is therefore a part of the great Vindhya range. Thus north, south and west, the Āryāvarta of these Dharmasūtras agrees exactly with the Madhyadeśa of Manu. The eastern limit which is the most important for our purpose, has not been identified till now. Prof. Bühler says, "The position of the Kālakavana or Black-forest is not accurately known. But it must probably be sought in Bihar."[3] It is more likely, however, that like the other boundaries, the point marking the eastern limit of this Āryāvarta, would also correspond to the eastern point of Manu's Madhydeśa, viz., Prayāga or Allahabad. The *Kālakavana* of this Āryāvarta appears to be the same as the *Kālakārāma* in the outskirts of Sāketa of which we read in the Pāli Buddhist books. The Aṅguttara Nikāya tells us how at one time the Buddha was staying at Kālakārāma in Sāketa.[4] It is perhaps the same as the

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1 *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, i, 8-13 (S. B. E., xiv, 2-3).

2 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, i, 2, 9-10 (S. B. E., xiv, 147).

3 S. B. E., xiv, 2, n. 8.

4 एकं समयं भगवा साकेते विहरति कालकारामे। *Aṅg. Nikāya*, ii, 24.

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Añjana-vana, the wood near Sāketa where many of the Buddhist Suttas are said to have been spoken,[1] as *añjana* and *kālaka* are synonyms, both of them meaning 'black.' Among many passages, where Añjana-vana occurs, we may mention a gāthā[2] in *Nandiyamiga-Jātaka ;* this shows that the Añjana-vana was known in very early times, as the gāthās represent the oldest stratum in the Jātakas, being handed on through many generations of story-tellers who could easily remember the versified lines, while the prose setting was added afterwards at the option of each particular reciter. Añjanavana is also mentioned in several passages in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya.[3] A Kālakārāma-Suttanta is referred to in the *Mahābodhi-vaṃsa.*[4] Sāketa was one of the six great cities in the sixth century B. C., when the Buddha lived, and was the capital of Kośala in ancient times, and the wood in its vicinity, like the Mahāvana in the neighbourhood of Vaiśālī was perhaps extensive ; so that it was quite natural to locate the eastern limit at this place which must have been a well-known locality at the time the Dharma-sūtras were composed and besides, at the time, Prayāga, the place marked by Manu, was comparatively of little importance. But it should be observed that Sāketa could not have been far removed from the meridian of Prayāga, whether we take the site of Sāketa to be represented by Sujān Kot in the Unao district[5] or by modern Ayodhyā which is more probable.

Name Āryāvarta loosely applied to the Midland

From what we have said above, it is sufficiently clear that the Āryāvarta of Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana is exactly conterminous with the Madhyadeśa of Manu, but while Manu's definitions of Āryāvarta and Madhyadeśa are geographically and ethnically accurate, the name Āryāvarta is loosely applied by the authors of the Dharmasūtras, like a technical appellation, to a tract resided in by *śiṣṭas* or men of approved conduct. The artificial character of their definitions of Āryāvarta is further apparent from the circumstance that they quote a second opinion bringing down the limits of Āryāvarta within a still narrower

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1 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 30.

2 स चे ब्राह्मण गच्छसि साकेते अञ्जनं वनं । वज्जासि नन्दियं नाम पुत्तं अजाकमोरसं ॥ Fausböll, *Jātakas*, iii, p. 272.

3 एवं समयं भगवा साकेते विहरति अञ्जनवने मिगदाये । *Saṃ. Nik.*, P. T. S., I. 54 ; v, 73, 219.

4 P. T. S., pp. 114-115.

5 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

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compass, within the Ganges-Jumna Doab. Both of them, again, quote a third opinion, that of an ancient Vedic school which placed the Āryas in the whole of the land between the Indus and Assam. Now, the question as to how far the Āryas dwelt in the east and the west, cannot be a matter of opinion, but is a matter of fact. It is absurd to imagine that the Āryas who, at the time of the Brāhmaṇa work of the Bhāllavins, dwelt far on in the East up to Assam, had receded in later times beyond the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna; the only inference that can be drawn, is that the Aryans living in the far east as well as those in the extreme west, between Prayāga and the Assam forests in the east, and between the Indus and the Sarasvati in the west, were developing customs and manners that differed from the best traditions of the Vedic Aryans as preserved in the Midland and that in the Midland itself people were losing the expansive energy and elasticity of the Vedic Aryans in their pristine vigour and were growing stagnant, developing a narrower outlook towards life in general and getting an exaggerated idea of their own customs and practices that were fast growing fossilised. If the people in the west, that is, in the Indus valley and the people to the east of Allahabad, were deviating from the forms and conventions established by long usage, the Madhyadeśa purists felt disinclined to recognise them as their own kith and kin There were purists of a still narrower type represented by the people who held the second alternative limiting the Āryas to the thin strip of land between the Ganges and the Jumna, leaving out every other people to the north, south, east and west. These are the purists of the Doab, perhaps younger contemporaries of Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, who glorying within the two sacred rivers were cultivating an aloofness from the rest of India. It should be remarked, however, that the ancient traditions making the Ārya country conterminous with northern India were not entirely forgotten; in fact, the statements of Manu and Yājñavalkya show that they survived till a very late age.

It is evident, also, that the word Ārya in the narrower definitions of Āryāvarta had lost its ethnic significance and was coming to be applied to the *śiṣṭas*, to men of correct conduct, education and culture, as we see that both in Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, these definitions are introduced in order to bring out the full connotation of the term *śiṣṭa*. Thus Vasiṣṭha says, "On failure of (rules given in) these (two sources of revealed texts and tradition of the sages) the practice of the *śiṣṭas*

Ārya and Siṣṭa

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has authority. But he whose heart is free from desire (is called) a *śiṣṭa*."[1] In the same connection Baudhāyana gives a more detailed definition of the *śiṣṭas* thus: "*śiṣṭas*, forsooth, (are those) who are free from envy, free from pride, contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days, free from covetousness, and free from hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, perplexity and anger. (Those are called) *śiṣṭas* who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, know how to draw inferences from that (and) are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts."[2] In the next chapter, Baudhāyana asserts that one should not take heed of practices that are opposed to the tradition of the *śiṣṭas*[3] and proceeds in the immediately succeeding sūtras to define the country of the Āryas.

It is significant in this connection that Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya also introduces his discussion about the limits of Āryāvarta in order to explain his definition of the *śiṣṭas* who with him are men of education and culture and of correct practice in the use of language as in matters of *dharma*. After premising that the question whether a person is a *śiṣṭa* is determined both by habitation as well as conduct (*ācāra*), Patañjali avers that this correct conduct is found in Āryāvarta only. "What is Āryāvarta ?"—he next puts the question.—"It is the country to the east of Ādarśa and to the west of Kālakavana, to the south of the Himālayas and to the north of the Pāriyātra. The Brāhmaṇas who, having their residence in this Āryāvarta, are contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days, (*Kumbhīdhānyāḥ*) and are free from covetousness, for whose acts no (wordly) motive is perceptible and who independently of anything are proficient in any one of the branches of learning, are honoured with the appellation *śiṣṭas*. And it is for the instruction of these *śiṣṭas* that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been composed."[3] In another

In Mahābhāṣya Āryāvarta is Land of Śiṣṭas

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1 श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः। तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम्। शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा। अस्पृहमाणकारणो धर्मः। आर्यावर्त्तः प्रागादर्शात् etc. *Vāsiṣṭha Dhs.*, I, 4-7. S. B. E. xiv, 1.

2 शिष्टाः खलु विगतमत्सरा निरहंकाराः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा दम्भदर्पलोभमोहक्रोधविवर्जिताः। धर्मेणाधिगतो येषां वेदः सपरिबंहणः। शिष्टास्तदनमानज्ञाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः॥ *Baudh. Dhs.*, I, 1, 5-6. S. B. E., xiv, 143-144.

3 उपदिष्टा इमे वर्णा इति। कैः पुनरुपदिष्टाः। शिष्टैः। के पुनः शिष्टाः। वैयाकरणाः। कुत एतत्। शास्त्रपूर्विका हि शिष्टिः वैयाकरणाय शास्त्रज्ञाः। यदि तर्हि शास्त्रपूर्विका शिष्टिः शिष्टिपूर्वकं च शास्त्रम्। तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति। इतरेतराश्रयाणि च न प्रकल्पन्ते एवं तर्हि निवासतथाचारतश्च स चाचार आर्यावर्त्त एव। कः पुनरार्यावर्त्तः। प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिम-

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passage[1] in his Mahābhāṣya also Patañjali gives an exactly identical definition of Āryāvarta. Now it will be observed that Patañjali in his explanation of the term *śiṣṭa* has borrowed exactly the same language as used by Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, and in his delineation of the limits of the Āryāvarta he also copies from the same two Dharmasūtra authorities, the only difference being that where these latter read 'Adarśanāt' in specifying the western boundary, Patañjali reads '*Ādarśāt*,; the difference is merely a verbal one and there is no difference in the locality signified. The word Āryāvarta in all these definitions, therefore, is nothing but a technical designation for the district where these *śiṣṭas* dwelt, there being no reference in it to the people of Aryan descent. There can remain no doubt about this conclusion when we examine the second passage from the *Mahābhāṣya* referred to above. Here Patañjali makes a clear distinction between 'Āryāvarta', that is, the district so designated, and 'Āryanivāsa' or 'the place where the Āryas dwell.' With regard to Pāṇini's rule that 'when words denoting Śūdras, who have not been expelled, come together to form a Dvandva compound, the compounded word is put in the singular,' Patañjali raises the following discussion :[2] "When it is said that the rule applies in the case of persons not expelled (*aniravasita*), what is meant ?—not expelled from where ? Say, not expelled from Āryāvarta. And what is Āryāvarta ? It is the region to the east of Ādarśa, to the west of Kālakavana, to the south of the Himālaya and to the north of Pāriyātra. If this is the correct interpretation of the sūtra, then how can such words as 'Kiṣkindha-gāndhikam,' 'Śaka-yavanam' and 'Śaurya-Krauñcam' be formed ? Then take it to mean not expelled from Āryanivāsa or the dwelling place of Āryas. What is an *Āryanivāsa* ? —a village, a settlement, a city or a market place." Here we observe that Patañjali does not take the word Āryāvarta in the sense of a place of residence of the Āryas but of a district which is technically designated as such. This technical character of the word also appears

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वन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम्। एतस्मिन् आर्यावर्त्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किंचिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्यायाः पारं गताः तवभवन्तः शिष्टाः।...एवमेषा शिष्टस्यानार्षाष्टाध्यायीति। *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, vi, 3, 109.

1 *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, ii, 4, 10.

2 शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम्। अनिरवसितानामित्युच्यते। कुतोऽनिरवसितानाम्। आर्यावर्त्तादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यावर्त्तः। प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम्। यदीयं किष्किन्धगान्धिकं शकयवनं शौर्यक्रौञ्चमिति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्ह्यार्यनिवासादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यनिवासः। ग्रामो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति। *Mahābhāṣya* on P., ii, 4, 10.

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clearly from its use in an old astronomical work by Parāśara who is quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. Parāśara begins a list of countries with the words—*Madhyadeśe Āryāvarta iti ya ākhyāyate tatra janapadāḥ*—'Now the countries in *what is called Āryāvarta* in the Madhyadeśa or the Midland.' This passage states in distinct terms that Madhyadeśa was a scientific division of India which included the area technically known as Āryāvarta; and from the names of the countries enumerated by Parāśara as included in this area,[1] it will be seen that they represent those that fall within the Āryāvarta of Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana.

Āryāvarta in post-vedic literature.

It should be observed, however, that inspite of the technical designation of a limited area as Āryāvarta by some people in later times, the older and the more correct connotation of Āryāvarta based upon the ethnic significance of the *Ārya* was very well-known in India even in the later ages as is evidenced by a work of such wide currency as the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, compiled, most probably, about the same period that Patañjali wrote his great commentary. In a passage other than the one giving his definition of the Ārya-land, Manu says that the *Dāśa* who lives by plying boats is called Kaivarta by the residents of Āryāvarta.[2] The *Mahābhārata* mentions both the Āryāvarta and the Madhyadeśa and its conception of these two regions is the same as that of Manu. We are told in the *Śāntiparva* that Śuka, being directed by his father Vyāsa, to repair to Janaka, the king of Videha, for instruction in *Mokṣa-dharma*, or 'the principles of absolute emancipation',—after visiting many countries resided in by the *Cīnas* and the *Hūṇas*, crossed the Himālaya from the north and reached this country of Āryāvarta.[3] In an enumeration of the soldiers in Duryodhana's army, those from the *Madhyadeśa* are

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1 अतः परं दिग्जनपदान् व्याख्यास्यामः। अथ मध्यदेशे आर्यावर्त्त इति य आख्यायते तत्र जनपदाः—शूरसेनोद्दिक-पाञ्चगुडाश्वत्थनौपकाञ्चनकौरवोत्तमज्योतिषभद्रारिमेदमाध्यमिकसान्त्वसाकेतमत्स्यकपिष्ठलचक्रदीर्घपमाण्डव्यपाञ्चनगरगौरयीवपारियात्रिककुरराज्यौदुम्बरयामुनगजाह्वयोज्जिहानकालकोटिमाथरोत्तरदक्षिणपाञ्चालकुरुक्षेत्रकौरमारण्यसारस्वताः। *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, edited by Mm. Sudhākara Dvivedī, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, part i, p. 286,

2 निषादो मार्गवं सुते दाशं नौकर्म्मजीविनम्।
कैवर्त्तमिति यं प्राहुरार्यावर्त्तनिवासिनः॥ *Manu*. x. 34.

3 स देशान् विविधान् पश्यं शैलद्रुमनिषेवितान्।
आर्यावर्त्तमिमं देशमाजगाम महामुनिः॥ *Mbh*. Kumbakonam edn., xii, 335 15. Vaṅgavāsī edn., xii. 325. 15.

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distinguished by the great epic poet from the armies contributed by the northern, southern and western quarters of India,[1] so that there can be no question that by *Madhyadeśa* it means identically the same region as that of Manu. The *Śāntiparva* recites the story of a Brāhmaṇa from the Midland (*Brāhmaṇo Madhyadeśīyaḥ*) who went to the northern country (*Udīcyāṃ diśi*) to earn a living.[2] Amara, writing about the fourth century A. C., says that 'the Holy land of Āryāvarta lies between the Vindhya and the Himālaya',[3] and all the commentators including Kṣīrasvāmin, the earliest, refer to the definition of Āryāvarta given by Manu[4] with whom Amara evidently agrees. Even about a thousand years after Manu, about the beginning of the tenth century A. C., we find this same scientific connotation of Āryāvarta given by Rājaśekhara who in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, a well-known work on poetics, defines Āryāvarta as the region between the Eastern and the Western oceans and between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas.[5]

It now remains for us to consider a suggestion made by Dr. Hultzsch that it is not Kālakavana but Kanakhala that is really intended in the definitions of Āryāvarta given above. Thus he writes :[6] "In the published texts of Baudhāyana (I, 1, 2, 9), Vasiṣṭha (I, 8) and the Mahābhāṣya (II, 4, 10) the words 'to the west of the Black Forest' are

Kālakavana or Kanakhala.

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1 प्राच्यैः प्रतीच्यैरथ दाक्षिणात्यैरुदीच्यकाम्बोजशकैः खशैश्च ।
शाल्वैः समत्स्यैः कुरुमध्यदेशैर्म्लेच्छैः पुलिन्दैर्द्रविडान्ध्रकाञ्चीः ॥
Mbh., Kumb. edn., v, 160, 103. Vaṅgavāsī ed., v, 160, 21.

2 हन्त ते वर्तयिष्येऽहमितिहासं पुरातनम् ।
उदीच्यां दिशि यद्वृत्तं म्लेच्छेष मनुजाधिप ॥
ब्राह्मणो मध्यदेशीयः कृष्णाङ्गो ब्रह्मवर्ज्जितः ।
यामं दस्युगणाकीर्णं प्राविशज्जनतृष्णया ॥
Mahābhārata, Kumb. edn., xii, 167, 2-3. Vaṅgavāsī edn., xii, 168, 29-30.

3 आर्यावर्त्तः पुण्यभूमिर्मध्यं विंध्यहिमालयोः । *Amarakośa*, ii, 8 (Bomb. Sans. Ser., p. 39). The reading *Himāga* for *Himāla* is also found in certain editions.

4 See *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam*, Triv. San. Ser., No. xliii, pp. 9-10.

5 पूर्वापरयोः समुद्रयोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोश्चान्तरमार्यावर्त्तः । *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 93.

6 Hultzsch (E), *Notes on the Poet Rājaśekhara*, Ind. Ant., xxxiv, 178.

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represented by *pratyak Kālakavanāt* or *Kālakādvanāt*. The majority of the Mss. which I used for my edition of Baudhāyana, read *Kālakāvanāt*. But I have since obtained two Grantha Mss. which have *Kanakhalāt* and *Kanakhkhalāt*. While a tract named 'the Black Forest' is only known in Germany, but not in India, Kanakhala is the recognised name of a mountain and place of pilgrimage near Haridvār, where the Gaṅgā descends into the plain of Hindustan. The distance between Haridvār and the Sarasvatī as eastern and western boundaries is rather short; but we may be expected to treat as the continuation of the eastern boundary the south-easterly course of the holy river Gaṅgā past Kanauj and as far as Allahabad, near which the hills forming the southern boundary would commence. In this way the *sūtra* of Baudhāyana, would agree with Manu's definition (II, 21) of the 'Middle Country' (Madhyadeśa), where the corresponding words are *pratyag eva prayāgāc ca*, 'and to the west of Prayāga (Allahabad).' Thus *pratyak kanakhalāt* may be considered the original reading, and Kālakavanāt, &c., to be clerical mistakes for it." After the identification, however, of Kālakārāma or Añjanavana with Kālakavana, it would appear that the clerical mistake is clearly the other way, that *Kālakavanāt* represents the correct reading, while the copyists in the south, failing to localise this Black Forest that sounded unfamiliar to their ears, substituted *Kanakhalāt* in its place.

It is just such a misreading as is made by the great South-Indian commentator, Mallinātha, to whom the name of a river in Bactria, the *Vaṅkṣū* or the Waksh, on the bank of which Kālidāsa[1] makes Raghu inflict a defeat on the Hūṇas after his victories over the Pārasīkas and the Yavanas, appeared to be quite outlandish and hence he substituted instead '*Sindhu*' which was more familiar to him; while the old commentators of *Raghuvaṃśa* including Vallabhadeva of Kāshmīr, read *Vaṅkṣū*, Mallinātha and those who imitated him, read *Sindhu*, in utter disregard of the geography of the north-western frontiers of India with which they were not quite familiar. In the matter under discussion also, the substitution of Kanakhala for Kālakavana, places Dr. Hultzsch in a geographical difficulty when he tries to reconcile the position of Kanakhala with Manu's definition of Madhyadeśa. In

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1 विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वंक्षुतीरविचेष्टनैः।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धालग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान्॥ *Raghuvaṃśa*, iv, 67. See a note by the present writer in *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), vol. iv, p. 107; also Pathak (K.B.), *Ind.Ant.*, 1912, pp. 265ff.

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support of the reading *Kālakavanāt* we have, according to Dr. Hultzsch's own finding, the majority of the Mss. of Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and the two passages in the Mahābhāṣya that we have already quoted. Rājaśekhara, in connection with whose mention of Āryāvarta Dr. Hultzsch has introduced his discussion about the eastern boundary of the Ārya-land, has nothing to do with Kanakhala or Kālakavana, but follows, as we have seen, the older tradition extending it to the eastern ocean. In another passage in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Rājaśekhara sets down Benares as the western boundary of the *Pūrvadeśa*[1] or the Eastern Country, showing that according to him also the boundary of Madhyadeśa lies at a great distance from Kanakhala. From all that we have said above, it is apparent that we are not justified to substitute *Kanakhala* for *Kālakavana* on the authority of the two Grantha manuscripts referred to by Dr. Hultzsch.

Now, summing up the previous discussion about Āryāvarta, we find that in later Vedic times when the Vedic Sūtra works were being written, the term *Ārya* was almost synonymous with *'śiṣṭa'* and in this sense the name 'Āryāvarta' was given by some to the country geographically known as the Madhyadeśa where lived the *śiṣṭas* or persons of right and approved conduct. The Āryas, in the ethnic sense, however, were known to have lived all over northern India in more ancient times when the oldest Brāhmaṇa works were being compiled, showing that at that time the occupation of Eastern India by the Aryans was almost complete and hence, it is evident that the process of settlement in the east must have commenced at a very early period in the history of Aryan immigration into India.

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR

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1 तत्र वाराणसी: पुरत: पूर्वदेश:। *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, G. O. S., p. 93.

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Town-planning and House-building in Ancient India according to Śilpaśāstras

2

V

The houses of the potters and barbers should be built in the northern and eastern portions of the town. The fishermen should have their houses in the north-western part of the town and butchers in the western part.[1] The butchers had their shops located near the place (śṛṅgāṭaka) where four roads met. Even in those ancient days, there were regular shops where meat was sold. The sellers of oil were to have their residences in the northern part of the town and the carpenters in the Āgneya part of the town. In the Vāyavya part of the town the artisans were to have their residences and the washermen in the western part of the town.[2] We find that a separate place is allotted to Śilpins in all the towns. We do not know members of which caste usually followed this profession, though, according to the Śilpaśāstras, a Śilpin is a Brahmin, and according to Padmasaṃhitā, he belongs to the carpenter class. The Caṇḍāla settlement should be situated a krośa or two away from the city.[3] These Caṇḍālas, according to Mayamata, are to sweep the streets and do scavenging work. But according to Manu, they were the executioners carrying out the order of capital punishments imposed on criminals by the king. The cemetery or burning place of corpses should be located at a distance of a krośa in the north-eastern direction from the town.

According to Sanatkumāra-Vāstuśāstra, when a town is constructed on a square site, there should be four gates in the north, east, south and west respectively. At the eastern gate there should be located the temple of Durgā, at the northern the temple of Vīrabhadra, and at the southern the temple of Bhairava. The Caṇḍāla village is to be situated on the northern part of the city, fifteen hundred karas from the northern gate, and the Mataṅga settlement is to be situated

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1 Śilparatna, 5, 72. 2 *Ibid.*, 5, 73. 3 *Ibid.*, 5, 74.

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on the southern part of the city, one thousand karas from the southern gate. This is the first work on Śilpa wherein mention is made of Mataṅgas. In all works on Śilpa, as in Dharma Śāstras, the Caṇḍālas have been given their residences always outside the city. The Mataṅga village is also located outside the city.

The north and south side, as also the east and west, are to be divided each into forty-nine parts. But this division into forty-nine parts is not made use of. For we immediately find that the city-site is divided into three parts, by drawing squares within squares and placing them symmetrically. At the corners of the innermost square should be built four temples. Four roads should run from temple to temple parallel to the sides of the innermost square and they should run from the chief entrance doorway of one to the chief entrance doorway of the other. The temples are of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati and the village-goddess. Within the innermost square the colleges should be situated which are referred to as Vedaśāstraśālās. How they should be situated within the square is not clear.

The other rectangular space next to this one should be divided into five portions, the division always being done by drawing squares one outside the other.

In the 1st area the Brahmin houses are situated and in the 2nd area the Kṣatriya houses. By the Kṣatriyas here are meant perhaps the soldiers and officers of the army as well as some of the relations of the king. In the 3rd area which is, so to say, a doubled site, including the spaces enclosed by the 4th and 5th squares, the Vaiśya houses should be situated. Why the Vaiśyas are given such a large space is not clear. They perhaps have the godowns for keeping their goods in their homes. In the next area, the servants—paricārakas as they have been called—have their residences. We may take this to be the Śūdra quarter of the town.

In the surrounding square, we find the Śilpiśālā, the hall of engineers in the north-eastern corner. Perhaps it is the workshop where the engineers, sculptors, architects and others plied their trade. By the northern side of it the royal treasury is situated. By the northern side of it, again, is the Yajñaśālā or the place where Vedic sacrifices are performed. Perhaps this place is intended for the performance of Śāntika and Pauṣṭika sacrifices and other sacrifices intended for the good of the townsmen. Probably in the same place Brahmins performed Yajñas for their own good.

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On the northern side is to be located the Dāruśālā or depot of wood. By the side of it is what we might interpret as workshop. This place is intended for blacksmiths and for those who work in bell-metal, brass etc.

On the eastern side of this square we find the hospital. In the south-eastern corner is to be located the potters' work-place. It is the place where the potters manufacture their wares. On the southern side of the square is the police station.

A similar square enclosing these is divided into two portions all round by means of streets running along the sides. On both sides of these streets we find the bazars.

Enclosing all these are high walls with four doors.

We have given above some details of town-planning as found in some of the ancient Śilpaśāstras. To examine and compare them in the light of modern science will be no doubt an interesting study. Town-planning is considered to be an art as well as a science; experts are busy in remodelling old towns and planning new ones where necessary. In ancient days, particularly in Rome and Greece, the rich were not averse to beautifying their native towns and there are records of noble donors who spent money lavishly in not only beautifying their towns but also in providing their townsmen with great utilities. Public baths and parks, reservoirs and tanks, schools and hospitals, theatres and amphitheatres were the results of private munificence and there are instances of men making the entire towns-people their sole heir. In India too the rich used to spend large sums of money for the construction of choultries and sacred edifices, rest houses, parks, tanks and reservoirs. These were meant for public use and the structures, in most cases, were works of art.

Great kings and powerful conquerors built up beautiful cities to perpetuate their names or conquests. And not infrequently have such towns fallen into decay soon after the demise of the royal builders. Vijayanagar in its ruins is still a beautiful sight. It is silent to-day, while three centuries back it was the centre of an extensive trade, the head-quarters of huge conquering armies and the capital of an emperor who ruled India from Cuttack to Rameswar. Such is the sad history of some of the towns, and in some cases names alone survive, no clue of indentification being left behind.

Round the village runs, according to these Śāstras, a street which is called Maṅgalavithi or the avenue of auspiciousness. The two main streets, running from east to west and north to south, intersect

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each other in the navel of the village or town; and it (the Brahmasthāna) is the place where the temple is situated or where there is a Pīṭha to which the townsmen or the villagers resort to chat and talk about the occurrences of the day. It is the place where the elders of the village meet and discuss the local affairs. The residents of large towns or cities meet in parks outside or inside the city. According to Mayamata the width of the streets should be one, two, three, four, or five Kārmukas. The street running from the gate whether from north to south or east to west is termed the Rājapatha or the king's highway.

The Śilpaśāstras advocate the laying out of a village or a town on rectangular lines. The insistence with which they speak of rectangular planning of a town clearly indicates that they were not in favour of a radial plan which is supported by some eminent town-planners of the West. A town planned on a radial basis can be more easily run over by an invading army than one built on a rectalinear plan. The town is longer east to west and shorter north to south, the Śilpins declaring the width of a town to be one-fourth, one-half, three-fourths of its length, or equal to it when it is small, and one-sixth or one-eighth when the length of the town is considerable. The principal roads run from east to west, so that the sun's rays fall on them from morning till evening and purify them. The shorter streets running from north to south and intersecting the long ones serve as excellent passages for the circulation of air. Ayodhyā, as described in Rāmāyaṇa, had a length which was four times its breadth; and Pāṭaliputra was, it appears, nine miles in length and one-and-a-half miles only in breadth.

Wells could be, according to the Śāstras, dug anywhere without any restriction; for a copious supply of water is essential for the Hindu in his daily life. Wells should be dug where there is a good underground supply and the thoughtful Śilpins would not impose any conditions about the places of their locations. Tanks are not only useful for agricultural and washing purposes and for providing drinking water, but also for equalising the temperature—"to act as a safety-valve in cases of sudden storms and relieve the pressure on the connecting channels." The Śilpins advise the building of a town or a village on the banks of a river or a lake-reservoir in which case the problem of water-supply is greatly simplified. A stream, river, lake or tank can thus be not only useful to the people but also be a source of delight to them.

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A town-planning expert writes thus:

"Now the smaller Indian towns of the present day still maintain to some extent the organisations of the past and illustrate both their merits and failures. In most cases a reasonably good site has been chosen with sufficient fall to carry off storm-water and a supply of good water from wells or a clean tank on the higher part of the site. With a climate normally dry it was only necessary to obey the dictates of cleanliness to ensure healthy living. Where there existed a good irrigation tank this was retained for the purpose of water supply, usually deepened and embanked to ensure cleanliness, while other tanks of lower levels provided accommodation for washing and bathing. As the supply areas of these tanks were gradually occupied, if they were not to be abandoned, it was found necessary to supply them from other tanks at a higher level, and thus a tank system developed and answered its purpose until neglect allowed the water to become foul and useless."

With regard to the markets, we find that provision is made for them inside the town, the bazars running all round along the walls. In these bazars situated on the outer skirts of the town, articles such as fish, meat, vegetable, food-grains, pots (made of iron, bronze, copper etc.), cloth, paddy, silk-cloth, salt, oil, scents and flowers are to be found. By the side of the walls within, silver, gold and other metals, gems, embroidered cloth etc., may be sold.

According to the Hindu Śāstras, every caste has its own profession. We find that the Śāstras set apart different parts of the town for members of the different castes. Thus the sub-division of the city area according to castes would practically amount to a sub-division of the city into industrial areas. The agriculturists are usually placed all round the city near their agricultural fields. The trade and industry people are placed in the outer fringes of the city (Vide Sanatkumāra-Vāstuśāstra); because the intention is to keep them outside the crowded central quarters for sanitary purposes. By the location of different trades and industries in different parts of the town, those who pursue a certain trade are made to pursue it from one definite place. It is a great help to the workers; they need no more run over long distances; and a good deal of time and energy are saved thereby.

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VI

With regard to house-building, the Śilpaśāstras give some details about planning a house and construction of apartments for different purposes like dining, sleeping, bathing etc. Nothing will be spoken here about the artistic embellishments of the houses, the ornamentation of pillars, doorways, window frames, walls etc., for it is not possible to deal with such matters in the short compass of this small article. Details are given about the basements and the the height of walls in the case of the construction of houses with a number of storeys. Towers and maṇḍapas are described here in detail.

Śilpaśāstras prescribe in great detail the places where doorways are to be opened and declare the good or evil that would befall to the house-owner by opening in the proper and improper places respectively. In the 4th chapter of the Vāstuvidyā we find:

"Two doorways are to be opened facing east, two facing south, two facing north, two facing west.

"The doorway facing east opened in the Mahendrasthāna[1] is considered to be the best for members of the Brahmin castes; and certainly that facing west opened in Jayantasthāna is the best.

"The doorway opened in Gṛhakṣatasthāna is the best for Kṣatriyas and that opened in the Gandharvasthāna is the best for the Vaiśyas.

"The doorway opened in Puṣpadantasthāna is the best for the Śūdras: the doorway opened in the Phallātasthāna is propitious for members of all castes.

"When the doorway is opened in the Ādityasthāna, loss of sons will happen; when in Satyasthāna it leads to loss of friends; when in Bhṛśasthāna it leads to loss of wife.

"When the doorway is opened in the Antarikṣapada the man (owner of the house) perishes; and opening of the doorway in the Pāvakapada leads to the death of the house-owner.

"Wealth increases when the doorway is opened in the Gṛhakṣatapada; the house-owner loses all his wealth and himself perishes if he opens a doorway in the Yamasthāna."

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1 The places where the doorways are to be opened are indicated by the names of the gods who are supposed to preside there.

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There is given a rough sketch of the ground plan of a house indicating the places where the kitchen, dining room, bathroom, sleeping apartments and cowpen should be located on the house site.

"In the places indicated by Gṛhakṣata, Mahendra, Soma, Phallāta and Argala, the sleeping apartments should be constructed.

The kitchen should be located in the Antarikṣapada and it should have nine doors.

The dining room should be located in the Vitathapada : the cowpen in the Asurapada. The bathroom should be located in the Gandharvapada."[1]

The building site should be a square for the Brahmins and especially for the Kṣatriyas according to Mayamata.

In the centre of the building site a Maṇḍapa should be constructed and its width should be one-fourth of that of the house site.

The site on which the king's palace is to be built is to be divided into 81 squares and the parts are to be indicated by the names of deities supposed to preside there. The various apartments should be located in the following places :

In the middle of the site the Brahmagṛha should be located.

In the Mitrapada the king should have his apartments where he spends his time by studying or conferring with his ministers. In the Vāyupada he shonld have the apartments where he spends his time in enjoyment. In the Argalapada there should be the apartments where he takes exercise. The treasury should be located in the *north* (Phallātapada). In the Parjanyakapada there should be bathrooms etc. In the north-western portion should be located the apartments where worship of gods is held. In the west (Varuṇapada) the dining hall, in the Gandharvapada the dancing hall, in the Nirṛtipada (south-western corner) the armoury and in the Gṛhakṣatapada the sleeping apartments should be located.

The cowpen should be located in the Saumyapada. In the portion named Puṣan should be located the elephant stables. The horses should be located in the portions named Aditi and Uditi.

The apartments for ladies should be located in the north and west. The maṇḍapa where the king drinks should be in the middle of the site.

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1 Vāstuvidyā, 4, 21-23.

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The apartments of charioteers should be located in the north eastern portion of the site.

The doorways should be located in the Phallāta and Puṣpadanta-padas and the sleeping apartments in the padas indicated by Yama, Vivasvan, Gandharva and Gṛhakṣata. The way should pass through east and west. The kitchen should be located in the pada as before stated. The Sthānabhūmi which perhaps is the place where business is transacted should be located in the Gandharvapada. The cowshed should be located in the Asurapada. The apartments for ladies should be situated in south-western corner.

The doorways in a Śūdra's house could be best located in the portions indicated by Phallāta and Mahendra, and the sleeping apartments in the portions indicated by Sugrīva, Puṣpadanta, Mitra and Varuṇa. The kitchen should be located in the portion named Puṣan and the cowshed in Asurapada. The Sthānabhūmi or the parlour should be located in the Gandharvapada.

K. RANGACHARI

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Asoka's Rock Edicts I, VIII, IX and XI[1]

Rock Edict I

1 In the first sentence the terms *Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi* occur in the *Jaugaḍa* version. As we have pointed out before (vide "The *Kaliṅga Edict*" in the I. H. Q., vol. iii, pp. 73-88, 336-55), this shows that the text of *Jaugaḍa* was specially prepared for that place only. The *Dhauli* version has only...*si* left to it. This may be the name of the rock on which the inscription was engraved there (vide Hultzsch's *Corpus*, p. 84, fn. 3). This also shows special preparation of the text for this place. The justification of such a statement, as we have pointed out, is found in leaving out from these two series the Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII, and introducing two *Kaliṅga* edicts for making up this omission, besides changing the texts of the Rock Edict IX towards the end for a perfect counterpoise. The use of these two additional terms in these two places is thus justified.

2 *Hida no kichi jivaṃ ālabhitu pajohitaviye no pi ca samāje Kaṭaviye* (*Jau.*). The word *hida* has been used in other edicts also, and it has been variously interpreted by scholars. In the Rock Edict XIII, *idha* (or *hida*) *rājavisayamhi*, is quite clear, meaning "in this (my) territory." But in the terms like *hida-loka* (M. XI. 14), *hida-likika* (S. V. 12), and *hidataṃ* (DS. IV. 7), *hida* undoubtedly signifies "in this world." In these places there is little difficulty in grasping the significance of *hida*, because of the explanatory words that have been used after it. In the Rock Edict V also, the use of the term *Pāṭalipute* in the *Girnār* version (G. V. 7) has cleared up the significance of *hida* (or *hidaṃ* etc.) used in the other versions. But in places where *hida* has been used alone, as in the sentence under review here, its significance is to be ascertained by other con-

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1 From the internal evidences of the edicts we find that these four edicts are connected with one another, and so, they should be taken together. In dealing with them we shall make a careful survey of some of the important points only, taking the edicts one after another, and refer mostly to the latest publications on the subject, such as Hultzsch's *Corpus*, A. C. Woolner's *Asoka*, Bhandarkar's *Asoka* and V. A. Smith's *Asoka* (third edition), etc.

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siderations. The object of Asoka in engraving the edicts on rocks and pillars is to acquaint his subjects with his wishes. Now, an edict inscribed at *Kālsī* with *hida* must significantly refer to that place only, otherwise it becomes a useless undertaking. Thus the local applications of Girnār, Kālsī, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mānsehrā and Sopārā practically cover almost the whole of Asoka's empire; so, by the use of *hida* Asoka has circulated the prohibition throughout the whole of his dominion. It may be that the original order was meant for his capital only, but with the circulation of the edict it had acquired extensive application. We, therefore, cannot say that "the word 'here' (*hida* or *idha*, G.) is ambiguous" (V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 159) or that "it is by no means clear that this prohibition was meant to be universal and not confined merely to his royal household" (Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, p. 131).

3 In the interpretation of the term *Samāja* (in its various spellings in the edicts) we need not trouble ourselves with literary evidences, for the subject has already been exhaustively dealt with by other scholars (vide *JBBRAS.*, 21, 395 ff. ; *IA.*, 1913, 255 ff. ; *JRAS.*, 1914, 392 ff. ; 1918, 221 ff., etc.). In all these discussions attempts have been made to find out

(i) what is meant by *Samāja*,

(ii) the nature of those disapproved by the king, and

(iii) that of the one approved by him.

We, however, find that all these matters have been left sufficiently explained in the edicts, so that all difficulties can be satisfactorily cleared up without even going to the evidences of literature. In the first place, it should be observed that Asoka is not a disapprover of every kind of ceremonies; for inthe Rock Edict IX he says,—"*Katayvameva tu maṃgalaṃ*"(ceremonies should certainly be practised), and then he says that certain ceremonies "bear little fruit" while the *dhammamaṃgala* "bears much fruit." We now turn to the Rock Edict I. Hultzsch has divided the sentence, we have taken up, into two parts, but some scholars are of opinion that the two clauses are connected by the conjunctions *api ca*. The word *Samāja*, as used here, particularly refers to that sort of festival gathering which is usually held in connection with animal sacrifice; otherwise, the last clause separated from the first takes the nature of a prohibition of every kind of *samāja*, which is not the object of Asoka, as we have pointed out by a quotation from the Rock Edict IX. The sense is somewhat like this—"In India no widow should be burnt with the dead body of

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her husband; and an assembly in that connection is declared unlawful." In this way both the act and the public demonstration are prohibited. In law such a declaration serves the purpose of holding persons responsible both individually and collectively, in order to alienate even a private act from public sympathy. The second clause is, therefore, a necessary adjunct to the first, and the two should form a single sentence. It is thus quite clear that the word *Samāja* in this sentence means that kind of festival gathering which is usually held at the time of a sacrifice. The aim of Asoka is to prohibit a demonstration of this kind.

4 *Bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ Samājamhi pasati etc.* Here *Samājamhi* is evidently in locative singular; so it does not allow itself to be translated as "in festival meetings" (vide Hultzsch's *Corpus*, p. 2), or "in merry-makings" (vide Smith's *Asoka*, p. 158). When in the text we get a word in the singular number, it should be our first concern to stick to the singular signification in the translation, but this has not been strictly followed in the translations noted above. This sentence, closely following the one we have discussed in section 2, simply gives the cause of prohibition mentioned there, so the word *Samāja* used in this sentence should reasonably mean that sort of gathering which is usually held on the occasion of a sacrifice. Bhandarkar's rendering "in a *Samāja*" (*Asoka*, p. 273) is also not up to the mark; for then it takes the nature of a general statement only: but the object of Asoka is not to point out the defects of all sorts of *Samājas*; for in the next sentence he speaks about the excellence of a kind of *Samāja* which was considered *Sadhumata*. We are, therefore, left with no other alternative but to render it thus—"For, the king finds many defects in a *Samāja* (of that kind)." Among numerous defects mentioned here, the text supplies us with one of sacrificing living creatures. About other defects, we shall see when we come to the Rock Edicts VIII and IX.

5 *Asti pi cu ekatiya samāja sadhumata devana priyasa etc.* (*Mans.*) It is to be noted in this connection that though *asti* is sometimes used in the Buddhist literature in the plural number, there is not a single instance in the edicts where it has been so used in any other place. We do, therefore, conclude that in this version as well as in the Shāhbāzgarhi version at least, *Samaja* (*Samaye* of Sh.) can be taken as a form in the nominative singular (like *Samāja*, *Samājo* etc. of the sentence noted in section 2) with *asti*, a finite verb in the singular after it. So, *ekatiya samaja* must mean *Samaja* of a particular kind.

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Even *ekacā* (G.[1]) *Samāja* cannot be interpreted as "certain *Samājas*" ; for we shall presently see in the Rock Edicts VIII and IX that only a particular kind of *Samāja* was held by Asoka, but not more of varied nature. The best rendering of this phrase would be, "certain kind of *Samājas*", the plurality indicating not varieties but repetitions of the same kind. We may note here that this sentence should not be lightly translated as "there are, however, certain *Samājas* which are considered excellent by Priyadarsin" etc. (Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, p. 273). Other scholars have translated it in a similar manner. The most appropriate sense is— There is a kind of *Samāja* of Priyadarsin, which is considered excellent. *Rāño* in the genitive case is connected with *Samāja* ; instead of taking the sentence in the sense of a mere expression of theoretical opinion, we take it to be a definite statement about Asoka's holding a kind of *Samāja* which was considered excellent. That this is supported by the evidences of the Rock Edicts VIII and IX we shall presently see.

Rock Edicts VIII, IX and XI

Atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ lājāne vihālayātaṃ nāma nikhamisu (Dhauli). In this sentence the word *Vihālayātaṃ* (Vihārayātāṃ, G.) has been translated by all scholars as "pleasure tours" or "tours of pleasure" (Hultzsch's *Corpus*, p. 14 ; Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, p. 293 ; V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 176, etc.), perhaps for the presence of *yātā* (*yātrā*) as the second member of the compound. In this edict we have two words ending in *yātā*, (i) *Vihārayātā* mentioned above and (ii) *Dhaṃmayātā* which occurs further below. It now remains to be seen what are possibly the best renderings of these two terms as used in this edict. Any dictionary will show that words ending in *yātrā* admit of various interpretations, such as journey, livelihood, festival, etc. What do, then, *Vihārayātrā* and *Dharmayātrā* signify here ? Let us take the words one after another. Dr. Bhandarkar (*Asoka*, pp. 17 ff.) says "We cannot have any clear idea of this *vihāra-yātrā* as Asoka gives us no details, and as no account of it is also forthcoming from any work of literature." We are, however, of opinion that Asoka has given quite satisfactory account of this *Vihārayātrā*, and that full details of similar undertakings can also be found in literature. We refer to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, chap. 235-250), in which the *Ghoṣayātrā* of Duryodhana is described in details. It

1 *Ekatiyā* of other versions.

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is worthwhile to quote a few typical passages from that place by way of illustration. The permission of the father of Duryodhana for going on *Ghoṣayātrā* was sought in the following manner—"O monarch, this also is an excellent season for thy son to go ahunting" (chap. 238, śloka 5), and it was said—"Indeed, we desire very much to go on a hunting expedition and will avail of that opportunity for supervising the tale of our cattle" (chap. 238, śloka 20). Some of the things actually done on this occasion are—"The citizens and the soldiers by thousands sported in that forest as best pleased them like the celestials (chap. 239, śloka 7), and the herdsmen well-skilled in singing and dancing and playing on musical instruments, and maidens adorned with ornaments, ministered to the pleasures of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's son" (chap. 239, śloka 8); also, "attended by all his followers, the king killed many bisons, buffaloes, deer, gavayas, bears and boars. Pierced by his arrows animals by thousands died in that deep forest" (Ibid., ślokas 10-11). It is thus quite evident that on that occasion hunting and other pleasant festivities were held, and when we find that Asoka refers to similar functions in this edict in connection with *Vihārayātrā*, the conclusion is irresistible that he had in his mind's eye the observances of this nature when he caused this edict to be written down. So, *magavyā añāni ca etārisani abhīramakāni* clearly explains the nature of this *Vihārayātrā*, and from our quotations above, it will be seen that the *Ghoṣayātrā* is illustrative of the *Vihārayātrā*.

Dr. Bhandarkar has also referred to many other instances of this nature, such as, the pleasure trip of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, condemnation of chase by Piśuna, praise bestowed on it by Kauṭilya, the account of Megasthenes, the hunting excursion of king Duṣyanta mentioned in the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa (*Asoka*, pp. 17 ff.). As an illustration of the significance of the word *vihāra*, we can aptly refer to the *Divāvihāra* of king Udāna mentioned in the *Mataṅga-Jātaka* (vide Fausböll's *Jātaka*, vol. iv, p. 375). All these references now give us the clue to the right interpretation of the word *Vihārayātrā*. In the first place, we object to the use of the word "tour" in the explanation of this term. Tour has the idea of continued journey from place to place, but in the undertakings like the *Vihārayātrās* the aim is to go to a particular place only, where hunting and other pleasant ceremonies are held, at the conclusion of which the persons taking part in the function return to their usual abodes. So, "pleasure trips or excursions" should be the most appropriate render-

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ings in such cases. The element of pleasure preponderates on these occasions, and the journey is simply incidental. We do, therefore, find that the idea of touring is entirely absent even from the mind of those who take part in these amusements. So the word "tour" cannot be used to express the sense of *Vihārayātrā*. That the principal aim of these *Vihārayātrās* is the enjoyment of pleasure is also quite evident from the written text of this edict. *Eta magavyā aṅāni ca:i etārisani abhīramakāni ahuṃsu* (Here hunting and other such pleasures were enjoyed) clearly shows that the undertaking was meant for amusements, among which hunting only was definitely mentioned. In the last sentence also the word *rati* shows that Asoka viewed these *Vihārayātrās* from the standpoint of pleasure only. But we find that scholars have generally given prominence to the idea of tour in *Vihārayātā* (as well as in *Dhāṃmayātā*). This is wholly unwarranted. The sentence we have taken up can best be rendered as—"In times past the kings used to go out on what is called the excursions of pleasure." The significance of *Vihārayātrā* can never go beyond this limit. Then about *Dhaṃmayātā*. The word has been interpreted as "tours of morality" (Hult. *Corpus*, p. 15), "touring for Dhamma" or "religious tour" (Bhand. *Asoka*, pp. 81, 294), "tours of piety" (V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p, 176) etc. We are, however, of opinion that the word here means nothing more than a kind of socio-religious festival that Asoka used to hold for the propagation of his *Dhamma*. Compound words ending in *yātrā* in the sense of festivals are undoubtedly very common in India. In the first Act of the *Uttararāmacarita*, the Sūtradhāra introduces the play by saying that it was going to be acted on the occasion of a festival (*yātrā*) in honour of Kālapriyanātha. We may also refer to the celebrated *Indrayātrā* festival of Nepal which is annually held there even up to the present day. Moreover, the names of almost all the Vaiṣṇava festivals have the word *yātrā* affixed to them, such as, *Rathayātrā*, *Candanayātrā*, *Jhulanyātrā*, *Dolayātrā*, *Rāsayātrā*, *Snānayatrā*, etc. There can, therefore, be no objection to the interpretation of *Dhaṃmayātā* in the sense of festival. An objector will perhaps like to know why in *Dhaṃmayātā* we stick to the sense of festival but not of tour. Our answer is that the text of the edict does not allow us to take up any other sense and that the author of the edict has left clue for the correct interpretation of this term. Here, we turn to the concluding phrase *bhāge aṃṭe*. All scholars have taken this phrase with the preceding sentence, but they have invariably found it

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difficult to accommodate it there, and to bring out a reasonable meaning with that arrangement, in which, however, there is also difference of opinion. Lüders (*SPAW.*, 1914, p. 845) and Hultzsch (*Corpus*, p. 14) begin the last sentence of the edict with *esā*, but other scholars begin it with the previous word *tadopayā*, as the text of the edict naturally suggests itself. Senart takes *bhāge aṃñe* as a locative singular masculine form, but Lüders (*SPAW.*, 1913, p. 990) objects to this interpretation on the ground that in the eastern dialects of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa at least, the locatives would have ended in *asi*. So he suggests nominative singular forms in those two versions, while retaining the locative sense in Girnār. Hultzsch has adopted the sense of a nominative in *bhāge* even in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions and has taken *esā* as a nominative singular form connected with *bhāge* (*Corpus*, p. 15, n. 7).

About interpretations. Bühler renders the phrase as "in exchange for past pleasures"; Senart, "in the period following"; Lüders, "in his second period"; Hultzsch, "second period"; Laddu suggests *aṃñe* = only, exclusive, and *bhāge* = king's share of source of revenue; V. A. Smith, "a different portion"; Bhandarkar "in another sphere"; and so on. It is not possible to comment on all these interpretations, but it is quite evident that utmost difficulty was experienced in accommodating these two words in the sentence, and the renderings have been very complicated; for without further explanatory notes no one can understand what is meant by the expressions like "in exchange for past pleasures," "a different portion," "in another sphere" etc. In all these renderings attention has been mostly centred on the mode of life led by Asoka. But A. C. Woolner has deviated from this standpoint, and he is the only scholar who has come up almost to the right point. In his *Asoka Glossary* (p. 119), he writes—"Could it be 'second portion', i.e., 'Part 2,' a clerk's note? It is very nearly half way through the series." So, being dissatisfied with the previous interpretations, he has looked to the series for the explanation of *bhāge aṃñe* and has rightly separated the phrase from the preceding sentence taking it as a clerk's note.

Let us now offer our own explanations. The phrase literally means, as has already been suggested, *apara bhāge*, i.e., in the other part, and we are of opinion that it is an elliptical expression meaning, "(continued) in the other part," that is, "in the part following."

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That the fourteen Rock Edicts forming this series were each treated as separate from one another is quite evident from the manner in which they have been engraved on rocks ; in Girnār specially there is a line of demarcation between any two consecutive edicts. *Bhāge aṃñe* should, therefore, reasonably mean the edict following, thus referring the Rock Edict VIII to the Rock Edict IX for further explanation. In this arrangement the previous sentence should end in *rāño* (or *lājine* etc.), and we find that in the edicts there are many sentences of similar construction. *Tadopayā esā bhuya rati bhavati Devānaṃpiyasa Priyadasino rāño* of the Rock Edict VIII is almost similar in construction to *bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasi rājā* and *asti pi tu ekacā sāmājā sādhumatā Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño* of the Rock Edict I. There is, therefore, no necessity of grafting the phrase *bhāge aṃñe* to this sentence, when it gives out a complete sense even without it.

Let us now see why the Rock Edict VIII has referred to the Rock Edict IX. The latter is properly speaking a sermon on various *maṅgalas* delivered for the purpose of establishing the superiority of *dhaṃmamaṃgala* which was observed by Asoka. The sentence *Ayaṃ tu mahāphale maṃgale ya dhaṃmamaṃgale* (this *dhaṃmamaṃgale* bears great fruit) of the Rock Edict IX clearly shows that Asoka was here speaking in favour of a particular ceremony that he actually observed, and when we have in the Rock Edict VIII the sentence *Tenesā dhaṃmayātā* (Then arose this *Dhaṃmayātā*), we are led to believe that this *Dhaṃmayātā* of the Rock Edict VIII is the *dhaṃmamaṃgala* of the Edict IX. For verification let us now look to the details of each performance. In the Rock Edict VIII, the word *dhaṃmayātā* is followed by the assertion *etayaṃ hoti* and in the Rock Edict IX the word *dhaṃmamaṃgale* by *hetāā iyaṃ* (Kālsi). Both these expressions are almost similar in sense and introduce what was being actually done in those two ceremonies. Then, coming to the details, we find that *bamhaṇasamaṇānaṃ dānaṃ* is common to the two functions, but in the Rock Edict VIII we have *vudhānaṃ dasane ca hilaṃnapaḷividhāne cā* (visiting the aged and supporting them with money), while in the Rock Edict IX we have *gulūnaṃ apaciti* (reverence to elders), which are also almost similar in signification. Then "visiting the people of the country, instructing and questioning them about *dhaṃma*" of the Rock Edict VIII may be included in "these and other similar items are indeed the *dhaṃmamaṃgala*" of the Rock Edict IX, which we

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find to be more elaborate in respect of detailed descriptions than the Rock Edict VIII. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to believe that the functions of the *Dhaṃmayātā* and of the *dhaṃmamaṃgala* are of identical nature.

The author of the edicts was quite aware of the fact that *Dhaṃmayātā* can be interpreted in various ways, and hence he left the clue in *bhāge aṃñe* for proper interpretation of the sense in which the word was used in the Rock Edict VIII, and this is quite sufficient to convince the readers of the edicts about its true significance here. A proof more satisfactory there cannot be. Lüder's objection can also be satisfactorily answered. In every language, phrases like *bhāge aṃñe* suffer no change under any circumstances and hence the locatives did not end in *asi* even in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions.

Moreover, we find that the Rock Edict IX is also a commentary of the R. E. I. In that edict we have "*Asti pi tu ekacā samājā sādhumatā Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño.* From this sentence, as we have said before, we know about the existence of a particular kind of *Samāja* that Asoka used to hold, and when in the Rock Edict VIII we find that *dhaṃmayātā* is followed by *etayaṃ hoti*, and then begins the narration of works done in this ceremony, and similarly in the Rock Edict IX *dhaṃmamaṃgala* is followed by *heta iyaṃ* (Kālsi) before such narration, the conclusion is irresistible that a kind of socio-religious ceremony was actually held by Asoka, and that it has been designated by the term *samāja* in the Rock Edict I, by *dhaṃmayātā* in the R. E. VIII, by *dhaṃmamaṃgala* in the Rock Edict IX.

The word *sādhumatā* also requires explanation. In the Rock Edict IX we have *ta vatavyaṃ pitā va putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikeṇa vā idaṃ sādhu idaṃ katavyaṃ* etc. From this we know that the ceremony is to be considered meritorious by men of all classes, and hence the sentence instead of being rendered as "There are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by the king" (vide Hultzsch's *Corpus*, p.2), may be more acurately interpretated as "There is a kind of *Samāja* of the king which is considered meritorious by all." In this way we can satisfactorily account for the use of *asti* in the singular, and even *ekacā Samājā* (*ektiyā samājā* etc.) also seem to have been used with a singular signification, like *esā dhaṃmayātā*, and *vihārayātaṃ* of the Rock Edict VIII, (as noted in Hultzsch's *Corpus*, p. 15, no. 2). Sticking to the sense of touring these words

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have been unnecessarily given a plural signification which is not at all supported by the text.

Now, to return to the topic of *Samāja* of the Rock Edict I. Asoka saw much evil in a *Samāja* (*bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ* etc.). From the Rock Edict I we can find, as Bhandarkar has observed (*Asoka*, p. 21), that "he naturally tabooed those where animals were slain." But another defect of such performances is narrated in the Rock Edict IX. The ceremonies performed in sickness, at the weddings of sons and daughters, and those of trivial and worthless nature which the women peform, are properly speaking ceremonials of this world, for they are performed with expectation of wordly benefits only. What is done in India even at the present day is this—A man falls sick, he offers a lamb to a god, hoping to be cured of the malady thereby. At weddings, animals are sacrificed for propitiating gods for the welfare of the couple. It is well-known that on each occasion a kind of socio-religious festivity is held. Asoka says that these things are of doubtful efficacy. Suppose, a man sacrifices an animal for the cure of a malady. If he is not cured, the sacrifice goes in vain, but if he is cured, the performance having attained its object remains also a thing of this world only, for the work being undertaken for worldly benefit has attained its finality in the fulfilment of its object, and hence it cannot have any effect thereafter. But the ceremony of *dhaṃmamaṃgala* is not of this nature. If any worldly object is attained thereby, it is well and good; if not, it is sure to earn endless merit in the other world. Herein lies the superiority of *dhaṃmamaṃgala*. So, we find that the Rock Edict I has also been explained in the Rock Edict IX. But this idea of the superiority of the functions of *dhaṃmamaṃgala* has also been clearly set forth in the Rock Edict XI, which is entirely devoted to this purpose. This edict practically begins with the following statement—"There is no such gift as the gift of *dhaṃma* (*nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhaṃmadānaṃ*), acquaintance with *dhaṃma* (*dhaṃma-saṃstavo*), participation in *dhaṃma* (*dhaṃma-saṃvibhāgo*) and kinship with *dhaṃma* (*dhaṃma-saṃbadho*). This is an authoritative statement like "that rite, however, bears great fruit, which is *dhaṃmamaṃgala* (*ayaṃ tu māhāphale maṅgale ya dhaṃma-maṃgale*) of the Rock Edict IX. This is again followed by the clause *tata idaṃ bhavati* in the R. E. XI, like *hetā iyaṃ*, *atra iyaṃ* etc. of the R. E. IX, and *tenatā*, *tenadaṃ*, etc. of the R. E. VIII. All these definitely show that something was being actually held by Asoka. Then, as regards

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details *dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī* is common to the Rock Edicts IX and XI, so is *bamhaṇa-samaṇānaṃ sādhu dānam* with slight variations. *Prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu* of the R. E. XI. echoes the sense of *pāṇesu sayamo sādhu* of the R. E. IX. Do not these similarities speak of the same kind of ceremony that was being held? The statements about the excellence of the functions are almost of the same kind in Rock Edicts IX and XI, and explain that the sense of *Sādhumatā* used in the R.E.I. We do, therefore, hold that the Rock Edicts I, VIII, IX and XI are intimately connected with one another, and so, in *dhaṃmayātā* we cannot entertain the idea of touring.

It will now be clear that by *Samāja* Asoka refers to ceremonies that were usually performed in sickness, weddings of sons and daughters, on the birth of children, at the time of going on journeys, and similar festivities of trivial nature that are held by men and women. The Rock Edict IX is quite clear in this respect, and every Indian knows how they are performed in his own household throughout the whole year. These are common occurrences of our daily life and we are accustomed to them. The discussions about *raṅga or prekṣāgāra* may be extremely scholarly, but not necessary here for understanding the significance of the term *Samāja* for we know form Asoka's own explanation in the R. E. IX, what he really means by the term.

These ceremonies were disapproved by the king, because (i) animals were sacrificed on such occasions, (ii) they were things of this world only and (iii) did not produce merit in the world beyond, and (iv) are of trivial and worthless nature. Asoka has not spoken about other defects simply because the narration of those noted above was quite sufficient for him to establish the superiority of *dhaṃmayātā*. We may now guess about the rest in various ways, but that will not affect the issue in any appreciable manner. In the absence of the idea of tour in *dhaṃmayātā*, the interpretation of *Saṃbodhi* takes a different complexion. Bhandarkar's rendering of going to "the place where Buddha attained perfect intelligence" i.e. the Bodhi Tree or Mahābodhi, at Bodh-Gayā (IA., 1913, pp. 159ff.), is too physical to require justification. Bühler's "true knowledge," Senart's "perfect knowledge" are almost near to the mark. What is meant here is that Asoka "went forth towards enlightenment" i.e. he took to the right path of enlightenment when he had been consecrated ten years. We know from the Minor Rock Edict I that

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Asoka passed more than two years and a half in the *Upāsaka* stage. Counting from the eighth year of his reign when his mind turned to religious matters, the *Upāsaka* stage commences after the tenth year and some odd months. Then began his enlightenment, so that the Minor Rock Edict I and the Rock Edict VIII support each other so far as this statement is concerned. From this standpoint also we find no necessity of adopting the idea of going to the *Bodhi* tree here.

Now, taking into consideration the representations of processions in the Rock Edict IV, we are in a position to state what was actually done in the ceremony of *dhaṃmayātā*.

1. Interview with the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and gifts made to them (R. E. VIII, IX, XI).

2. Interview with the aged and distribution of gold to them (R. E. VIII, IX).

3. Interview with the people of the country, instructing them about *dhaṃma* and discussion with them about *dhaṃma* (R. E. VIII).

4. Proper treatment of slaves and servants (R. E. IX and XI).

5. Obedience to father and mother and giving prizes to friends, comrades and relatives (R. E. XI).

6. Abstention from the slaughter of animals (R. E. I, IX and XI).

Further the functions consisted of :

7. Spectacles of aerial chariots, of elephants, masses of fire and other divine representations.

This was the nature of the *Samāja* approved by the king, and no speculation is required to find it out.

That these spectacles were part of the *Samāja* ceremony has also been admitted by other scholars (vide Hultzsch's *Asoka*, p. 2., No. 5; Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, pp. 21,135 etc.). It is more probable that these were shown to the people of the town as well as the country assembled during the festival in the capital than that Asoka toured from place to place like a gipsy king with the whole paraphernalia of such representations. What is thus true of *Samāja* is also true of *Dhaṃmayātā or Dhaṃmamaṃgala*. From this standpoint also the idea of touring in *Dharmayātrā* cannot be obtained. But in the Rummindei and Nigliva pillar inscriptions there are evidences of Asok's tour. How can that have any relation with the idea of religious tour ? During the long rule of Asoka over a vast empire,

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it was not unnatural for the defender of all faiths, as he styled himself, to visit the birth-place of Buddha. We also often find the Christian Governor visiting the sacred places of the Hindus, but that cannot be interpreted as an act of pilgrimage. The contributions they make towards worship and the attention they pay for the preservation of mutilated monuments are not proofs of their embracing Hinduism. Who knows if the action of Asoka was not of this nature!

The sense of the Rock Edict I and VIII as modified in this manner stands as follows :

Rock Edict I

This *dhaṃma-lipi* was caused to be written by king Devānaṃpriya Priyadarsin. Here no animal should be killed and offered as a sacrifice; nor should any *Samāja* be held (in that connection); for king Devānaṃ-priya Priyadarsin sees much defects in a *Samāja* (of that kind). There is, however, a kind of *Samāja* of (held by) king Devānaṃpriya Priyadarsin which is considered excellent (by all).

Rock Edict VIII

In times past the kings used to go out on what is called the excursion of pleasure, in which hunting and other similar amusements were indulged. But king Devānaṃpriya Priyadarsin achieved *Sambodhi* (enlightenment) ten years after his consecration. Hence arose the festival of *Dharmayātrā*. Since then this (festival of) *Dharmayātrā* has become the object of much pleasure to the king Devānaṃpriya Priyadarsin.

In the Rock Edict I Asoka has prohibited the sacrificial slaughter of animals, (and the holding of Samāja of various kinds) and this has been taken as denunciation of the Brahmanical usage (*Hultzsch's Corpus*, Intro., p. 1). Bhandarkar says that the conversion of Asoka took place in the eighth year of his reign (*Asoka*, p. 76), but Hultzsch places the incident in the eleventh year (*Corpus*. Intro., pp. xliii-xlvii). The Minor Rock Edict I is "considered the earliest of all the Asoka inscriptions" (*Ibid.*, p. xliv) and is said to have been issued in the thirteenth year of his reign (*Ibid.*, p. xlvi). The Rock Edict I

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must, therefore, be of a later date, but it says that when that edict was issued Asoka could not stop killing animals for meals even in the royal household. This has been a knotty problem to all scholars who found it difficult to reconcile this statement with the fact of Asoka's being a *Upāsaka* and joining the *Saṃgha* earlier, as stated in the Minor Rock Edict I. Hultzsch has remarked that the animals were killed "evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians" (*Corpus*, p. 2, No. 7). We are, however, of opinion that there is no necessity of speculations of this kind, and that the question of Asoka's conversion to Buddhism cannot arise in consideration of this edict. Towards the end of the edict the personal statement runs: "Formerly many animals were slaughtered for curries, but at the time of issuing the edict only three used to be killed for the purpose." Then the king holds out a promise that no animal would be killed in future. This statement is simply a record of the gradual evolution of Asoka's sentiment. By prohibiting the sacrificial slaughter of animals he considered himself liable to the people for an explanation of his own conduct. In order that the people may not misinterpret his action as an attack on their religion on accouut of any religious bias, Asoka has taken care to state in the next few sentences the reason of such prohibition, by referring to his own conduct, so that the people might clearly see that the prohibition was issued as a result of the perfection of his feeling, Asoka does not say that it was due to the Buddhistic bias, and we are not authorised to interpret the edict in that light. In the Pillar Edict IV also there is nothing to show that Asoka was acting under Buddhistic influence. We have also shown in dealing with the Rock Edict IX why the *maṅgalas* were considered to be of little use by Asoka. In both these cases, Asoka has clearly set forth his own reasons. We fail to understand how all these facts can be ignored, and controversial speculations indulged in for the solution of apparently contradictory statements.

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The Battle of Soraṭur[1]

An inscription of the reign of the Hoysala king Narasiṃha II, found in the Harihareśvara temple at Harihara (EC., XI, Dāvaṇagere 25; PSOCI., no. 123) contains the following verse :

eraḍuṃ-lakkaṃ-baraṃ sutthaṇeyar aśani-sannāhadiṃ panneraḷ-sā-
sirad aśva-śrēṇi-mōl-aṅkavaṇiya maṇi-paryāṇadiṃ tôkke-vett ey/
tare tann ond-āneyiṃ Sēvuṇa-nṛpa-balamaṃ nūṅki bennaṭṭi kondaṃ
Soraṭūriṃ Kṛṣṇavēṇī-nadiya taḍi-varaṃ Vīra-Baḷḷāḷa-rāyaṃ//

in which it is related of his father Vīraballāḷa II, that he fought with the Sēvuṇa king who had with him an army of two hundred thousand men and twelve thousand cavalry, and that he pursued it, slaying, from Soraṭūr to the bank of the Kṛṣṇaveṇī river. We know from other sources that the Sevuṇa king who fought with Vīraballāḷa at Soraṭūr was Bhillama, father of Jaitugi I and grandfather of Siṅghaṇa. The opinion has been expressed by the late Dr. Fleet (DKD., p. 504), on the basis of the ambiguous language of an inscription at Aṇṇīgere (of about 1202 A.C.) and of other inscriptions including those of Bhillama and Vīraballāḷa at Gadag, (1) that this battle between Bhillama and Vīraballāḷa took place soon after June 1191 A.C. and that the latter assumed imperial titles on account of this victory ; and (2) that Bhillama was killed in this battle.

This opinion has until now been accepted as correct by every one; it is nevertheless erroneous, as is shown by the Ānekere copper-plate inscription (EC., V, Cannarāyapaṭṭaṇa 179) of Vīraballāḷa and some stanzas of Rājāditya's[2] *Vyavahāra-gaṇita* (an arithmetical

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1 The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this article :

DKD. for Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts (Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part II).
EC. „ Epigraphia Carnatica.
EI. „ Epigraphia Indica.
KLISI. „ Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India (Appendix to EI., vol. VII).

2 Rājāditya was the protégé of the daṇḍanāyakas Bharata and Bāhubali who held the office of mahāpradhāna and māṇikya-bhaṇḍāri

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treatise written in the Kannaḍa language in c. 1200). This Ānekere inscription applies to Vīraballāḷa the imperial titles samastabhuvanāśraya, śrīpṛthivīvallabha, mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara, and niśśaṅkapratāpacakravarti, and contains the following two verses :

innuṃ bīrada tôra-bittan agevoydant irppud ārūḍha-saṃpannaṃ dakṣiṇa-cakri gelda Soraṭūriṃ Beḷvoḷaṃ muṭṭe saṅ/
channodghṛṣṭa-kṛṣīvaḷāvaḷi-haḷa-prāg-bhāga-niḥkīlitotpannaṃ Sēvuṇa-sainya-sad-bhaṭa-karôṭī-kôṭi-saṅghaṭṭanaṃ//
ari-giri-durga-malla-nṛpan ettida bīgade koṇḍa durggav ond eraḍe Virāṭarāja-nagaraṃ Kurugôḍu Mataṅga-bhūdharaṃ/
Dhorevaḍi Gutti Guttavoḷal Uddhare Kāḷaḍi Bandaṇikke Baḷḷare Soraṭūr Erambarage Hāluve Mānuve Lokkiguṇḍigaḷ//

The first of these describes how he put to rout the Sevuṇa army and pursued it from Soraṭūr to Beḷvoḷa, and the second relates that he captured in a short time Hāngal, Kurugōḍ, Soraṭūr, Lokkiguṇḍi, Baḷḷare and other forts.

We learn from the last line but one (line 214) of this copper-plate inscription that it was composed by Jannayya, that is, by the great Kannaḍa poet Janna or Janārdana, who is the author of *Yaśōdhara-Carita*, *Anantanātha-purāṇa* and some other works that do not seem to be now extant. Janna was a court-poet of Vīraballāḷa II, who conferred on him (some time after 1209 A.C.) the title kavicakravarti or 'Emperor of Poets,' and of his son Narasiṃha II under whom he was also adaṇḍanāyaka, mantrin, or councillor, and Governor of a division. We can therefore rely upon it, the more so since the inscription is signed by Vīraballāḷa himself, that this king bore the imperial titles samastabhuvanāśraya, śrīpṛthivīvallabha etc., at the time when the grant recorded in the inscription was made, and that the battle of Soraṭūr had been fought before that time. Now, this inscription is dated Sunday, the eleventh tithi of the dark fortnight of Puṣya, in Śaka 1113 Saumya, when the sun began his northern course. This date is *irregular* for Śaka 1113 Saumya (A.C. 1189-1190); for in that

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under Vīraballāḷa II (see Nāgamaṅgala 32 in EC., IV); and he was thus a contemporary of Vīraballāḷa. Besides the Vyavahāragaṇita, he has written other mathematical works named Kṣetra-gaṇita, Līlāvatī, Vyavahāraratna and Jainagaṇita-sūtraṭīkōdāharaṇa.

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year, Puṣya-ba 11 began on Wednesday, the 3rd January, 1190 A.C., and ended on the following Thursday, and neither of these two days was associated with a saṅkrānti. In the following year, however (see pp. 27-31 of my book *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*), the Meṣa-saṅkrānti occurred on the 24th March, 1190 A.C., at 54 *gh.* 12 *p.* and 5(*gh.* 3*p.* after mean sunrise according to the Sūrya and Ārya Siddhāntas respectively; and the mean Makara-saṅkrānti occurred 273·9447 days thereafter on Sunday, the 23rd December, 1190 A.C., at 50 *gh.* 53*p.* and 46 *gh.* 44 *p.* after mean sunrise according to the above Siddhāntas. The mean tithi Puṣya-ba 11 too began on this Sunday at 33 *gh.* 31*p.* and 30 *gh.* 22*p.* after mean sunrise according to the above Siddhāntas; and there is therefore no doubt that it is this Sunday, the 23rd December, 1190, that is intended by the above inscription.

It thus becomes evident from the above inscription that the battle of Soraṭūr in which Vīraballāḷa defeated the Sevuṇa king was fought before the 23rd December, 1190, and that Vīraballāḷa had assumed the imperial titles samastabhuvanāśraya, Śrīpṛthivī-vallabha etc., before that date. Since however Bhillama's inscription at Gadag (EI., III, 219) records a donation of his to the Kāḷāmukha priest Candrabhūṣaṇa-paṇḍita on the 23rd June, 1191 (see KLISI., No. 334), it follows that Bhillama was living at that time and that he was not killed in the battle of Soraṭūr.

This is clearly brought out by the following passages of the *Vyavahāra-gaṇita*[1] also:

mudadiṃ Sēvuṇar etti mārmaleye ponnir-bīṇaṇer baṭṭal ā
nadiyoḷ biddudu pañca-bhāge hayamiuṃ bhāgaṃ diśāpaṭṭav ā-/
dudu ṣaḍ-bhāga samarci muggidudu cātur-bhāge lāyakke mik-
kudu ..... vāji-sahitaṃ keṭṭōḍidaṃ Bhillamaṃ//
Madanārāti- nṛpālakaṃ bhayadi ben-goṭṭ-odutirpalli tā
nadiyoḷ biddadu pañca-bhāge haya ṣaḍ-bhāge diśā-paṭṭav ā-/
dudu mūr-bhāge kadarci vōḍidavu cātur-bhāge lāyakke san-
dudu mikk arunūrōu-vāji-sahitaṃ keṭṭoḍidaṃ Bhillamaṃ//

caladiṃ Sēvuṇa-cakra mārmaleye bhaumodar bhīṇar ebbeṭṭal ā-nadiyoḷ biddavu pañca-bhāga tri-bhāgaṃ raṇadoḷ muggiduvu catur-bhāgaṃ

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1 Kannaḍa MS., no. A. 14, of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, pp. 42, 43 and 56. The passages are corrupt.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastri for drawing my attention to these passages.

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lāya sandavu, ṣaḍ-bhāgaṃ dhūḷīpaṭam āge mikk āru-nūru kebe-verasi hōdavenitu turaṅga vembudaṃ pēḷ gaṇakā||

It is stated in these verses that out of the total number of cavalry which the Sevuṇa king took with him to fight (against Vīraballāḷa), five parts fell into the river, six fled away in all directions, four fell in the battle, four returned back and Bhillama fled in confusion from the battle-field with the remaining six hundred horse-men; and then the reader is asked to solve the problem, "What was the total number of cavalry which Bhillama brought to the field?"[1] The answer is '12,000', which is also the number given in the verse of the Harihareśvara temple inscription cited above.

It is explicitly said in these verses that 'Bhillama in confusion fled (from the battle-field)' and that he 'turned his back (to the enemy) and fled in fear'; thus there is no doubt that Bhillama was not killed in the battle-field at Soraṭūr; he fled from it and survived it.

But he did not live long; for the inscriptions of his son Jaitugi I show (DKD., p. 521) that the latter began his reign in A.C. 1191-1192. It is also indicated in a verse[2] of an inscription at Belūr (EC., V., Belūr, 77), of circa 1197 A.C. that he was, like the Pāṇḍya king and Jaitugi (who in all probability is the same as the Jaitrasiṃha mentioned in the Gadag inscription of Vīraballāḷa as the right hand of Bhillama; see DKD., p. 503), killed by Vīraballāḷa. Bhillama was thus in all probability killed between June 1191 and September 1191 in a fight with Vīraballāḷa's army.

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1 Though these passages do not mention the name of the Kṛṣṇa-veṇī river and of Soraṭūr or Beḷvoḷa, still the mention of the horses 'falling into the river' and their number 12,000 (given in the answer) show conclusively that the battle referred to here is the battle of Soraṭūr.

2 *asuhṛt-Pāṇḍya-nṛpāla-rakta-jaladiṃ nīrūḍi surr-embinaṃ*
māsedaṃ Bhillama masta-śāṇa-taḷadoḷ ghōr-embinaṃ Jaitugī |
prasṛtāsyāmbujakōśadoḷ kiri-puvam ghaṇm-embinam kūrppuda-
ḷḷise Ballāḷanṛpāḷakaṃ nija-bhutja-prauḍha-pratāpāsiyaṃ||

"Plunging it into the water, namely, the blood of the enemy Pāṇḍya king, so that it hissed and spluttered, Vīraballāḷa whetted the sword, which he bore in his valorous arm, on the whet-stone, namely the head of Bhillama, and sheathed it in the lotus-mouth of Jaitugi."

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The verse of the Harihareśvara temple inscription cited above is followed by another which states that Vīraballāḷa also reduced all the forts between Soraṭūr, Erambarage (Yelburga), Kurugôḍ (near Bellāry), Gutti, Belliṭṭige, Raṭṭapaḷḷi and Virāṭana-Kôṭe (Hāngal). It is the opinion of Dr. Fleet (l.c., pp. 504-505) that it was probably early in A.C. 1193 that Vīraballāḷa started on the expedition, in the course of which the number of forts in question was reduced, and that the campaign was doubtless brought to an end in the month of Āśvina (Sept.-Oct.) of A.C. 1196, when, encamped at the Ānekere tank at Hāngal, he laid siege to the latter town. This opinion is not quite correct, for, as we have already seen, it is said in the the 2nd verse of the Ānekere grant, that Vīraballāḷa had already taken Virāṭarāja-nagara (Hāngal), Kurugôḍ, Soraṭūr, Gutti, Erambarage, Lokkiguṇḍi and other forts named therein. There is thus no doubt that these forts were taken by Vīraballāḷa before December, 1190. But Dr. Fleet's opinion is correct to this extent, namely, that Vīraballāḷa took again Kurugôḍ and other forts after 1193 A.C., because,apparently, they had passed into the hands of his enemies after 1190 A.C. As we have seen above, the Ānekere grant, which relates that Ballāḷa conquered Soraṭūr, Beḷvoḷa and the surrounding territory, is dated the 23rd December, 1190. This territory however passed into the hands of Bhillama shortly after, as is shown by his Gadag inscription which records the grant of a village named Hiriya-Handigoḷa in Beḷvoḷa 300 to the Kāḷāmukha priest Candra-bhūṣaṇa-paṇḍita, the head of the Svayambhū-Trikūṭeśvara temple at Gadag and which is (as mentioned above) dated the 23rd June, 1191. It is significant that this grant was made, not at Gadag itself where the above temple is situated and where one expects it to be made, but at Hūrūrā, a village about 30 miles north of it, where his vijayaskandhāvāra or camp of the victorious army was stationed; and this circumstance indicates that Bhillama had, after his defeat at Soraṭūr, rallied his forces early in 1191 A.C., took the offensive against Vīrballāḷa and captured from his officers parts of the territory formerly conquered by him; but he did not penetrate as far south as Gadag. It is, however, indicated by an inscription at Kôliguṇḍa (EC., V., Arsikere 5; dated the 18th January, 1195) that the Sevuṇa army under Jaitugi did advance further south and even re-took the fortress of Lokkiguṇḍi (6 miles east of Gadag).

At this point, the further progress of the army seems to have been checked by the forces of Vīraballāḷa; for we learn from his Gadag inscription, (EI., VI., p. 94f.) which likewise records the grant to

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the above mentioned Candra-bhūṣaṇa-paṇḍita of another village in Beḷvoḷa 300 named Hombāḷalu, and which is dated the 21st November, 1192 A.C., (KLISI. no. 419), that Ballāḷa was at that time camping at Lokkiguṇḍi (or Lakkundi) with his victorious army and that he had defeated Jaitrasiṃha the 'right hand of Bhillama.'[1] As already observed above, this Jaitrasiṃha is the same as the Jaitugi who is mentioned in the above-cited Koḷiguṇḍa inscription as the defender of Lokkiguṇḍi and in the above-cited Bēlūr inscription as having been killed by Ballāḷa.

It thus becomes evident from the above-cited inscriptions that Vīraballāḷa had, between July 1191 and November 1192, resumed his fight against the Sevuṇas, killed king Bhillama, and then laying siege to Lokkiguṇḍi captured it after defeating Jaitugi or Jaitrasiṃha, the Sevuṇa general, who was defending it. He seems to have thereafter set about re-conquering other forts, that had, in the meanwhile, been taken by his enemies. For an inscription at Aggaḍalu, (EC., V., Bēlūr 204) which records the death of a Kūsa-Bokaṇa, on the 7th August, 1195, in the course of Vīraballāḷa's attack on the fort of Kurugōḍ, shows that this fort had passed into the hands of Ballāḷa's enemies since he took it before 1190 A.C., and that he captured it again about August, 1195. Similarly, the Hāngal inscription referred to by Dr. Fleet (DKD., p. 505, n. 3) shows that Vīraballāḷa who had captured Hāngal before December 1190, was again engaged in capturing it in 1196 A.C.

It thus becomes clear from the foregoing that Dr. Fleet's opinions are erroneous and that Ballāḷa had assumed the imperial titles samastabhuvanāśraya, śrīpṛithvīvallabha, etc. and had conquered Hāngal, Kurugōḍ, Gutti and other forts mentioned in the Ānekere grant before 23rd December, 1190. It also becomes clear that the Sēvuṇa king Bhillama was not killed in the battle of Soraṭūr but survived it, and that this battle was fought before 23rd December, 1190, and after Bhillama's accession to the throne in 1187-88 A.C. This battle seems in all probability to have taken place between July 1189 and June 1190, that is, in the last half of 1189 or the first half of 1190 A.C.

The Pāṇḍya king mentioned in the verse cited above (p. 127), it may be noted, was not the Pāṇḍya ruler of Madhurā but the ruler of the Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 province, who had his capital at Uccaṅgi. For the Bēlūr inscription (no. 77), in which this verse occurs, is, as

1 He had, before this, killed Bhillama in some engagement.

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already noted, dated circa 1197 A.C., while it was not till the latter part of 1217 A.C., that is not till about 20 years after the date of this inscription, that the forces of Vīraballāḷa fought for the first time (and vanquished) those of the Pāṇḍya king of Madhurā (see my article on 'The Hoysalas' Establishment of the Coḷa king' in the *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1927, p. 204). His conquest of Uccaṅgi, on the other hand, is mentioned in many inscriptions that are anterior to A.C. 1197, for instance, in Cannarāyapaṭṭaṇa 209, Belūr 137 and 175, and Arsikere 178 in EC., V, in Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa 124 (327) and 130 (335) in EC., II, and in Cikkanāyakanahaḷḷi 13 and 36 in EC., XII. The last mentioned two inscriptions are dated the 14th March and the 26th September respectively of 1177 A.C.; and the latter of these (130) states that "the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vīraballāḷa-deva 'who had taken Talakāḍu, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavase, Hānuṅgal, Uccaṅgi, Halasige, Huligere and Beḷvoḷa',[1] and who was the sole lord of the earth bounded by the Himālayas and Setu (Rāmeśvaram) proceeded on a tour of conquest (d i g v i j a y a), defeated the Pāṇḍya king and, making Uccaṅgi his capital, was ruling the earth", while the earlier one (no. 13), on the other hand, states merely that Ballāḷa-deva, 'who had taken Talakāḍu, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Hānuṅgal and Uccaṅgi', was ruling the earth from his capital Dorasamudra. The two inscriptions together seem therefore to indicate that Vīraballāḷa's capture of Uccaṅgi and defeat of the Pāṇḍya king took place at some time between the 14th March and the 26th September of 1177 A.C.

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1 Talakāḍu-Koṅgu - Naṅgali - Noḷambavādi- Banavase-Hānuṅgal-Uccaṅgi-Halasige-Huligere-Beḷvoḷam-goṇḍa :

This title was first assumed by the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana after he conquered the above named places, and after his death, were used by his son Narasiṃha I (who, so far as we know, did not conquer any of these places) and by his grandson Vīraballāḷa II. Vīraballāḷa did, as a matter of fact, conquer some of the places named, viz., Banavase, Hānuṅgal, Noḷambavāḍi, Uccaṅgi, Halasige, Huligere and Beḷvoḷa, but the conquest of all these places was not completed before circa A.C. 1190, while the above title is used of him from A.C. 1173 (the year of his accession) onwards. This explains why the present inscription, which applies the above title, indicating that he had conquered Uccaṅgi, to him, goes on to say that he proceeded on a course of conquest and took the fort of Uccaṅgi.

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This capture of Uccaṅgi and its results are thus briefly described in the following two verses of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription 124 (327) mentioned above:

bharadindaṃ tanna dor-ggarbbadin Oḍey-arasaṃ kāydu kūdalk aṇaṃ pūṇd
ire Ballāḷa-kṣitīśaṃ naḍadu balasiyuṃ mutte senā-gōjēndro/
tkara-dantāghāta-sañcūrṇṇita-śikharadoḷ Uccaṅgiyoḷ silkidaṃ bhā-
sura-kāntā-dēśa-kōśa-vraja-janaka-hayaughānvitaṃ Pāṇḍya-bhūpam//
cira-kālaṃ ripugaḷg asādhyaṃ enisirdd Uccaṅgiyam mutti dur-
dhara-tōjō-nidhi dhūḷi-gōḷeyane koṇḍ ā-Kāma-dēvāvanī-/
śvaranaṃ sand Oḍeya-kṣitīśva-rana ā-bhaṇḍāraṃ strīyaraṃ
turaga-vrātamumaṃ samantu piḍidaṃ Ballāḷa-bhūpāḷakaṃ//

"When in the pride of his arm, Oḍeyarasa was with great fury determined to fight, king Ballāḷa marched forth, and surrounding and besieging Uccaṅgi, whose peak had been reduced to powder by the blows from the tusks of the group of lordly elephants of his army, captured king Pāṇḍya together with his father, beautiful women, country, treasury, and group of horses. Laying siege to Uccaṅgi which was for a long time considered impregnable to enemies, king Ballāḷa, a store-house of irresistible prowess, took the fort with ease and seized the kings Kāmadeva and the famous Oḍeya, and their treasury, women and troops of horses."

The Oḍeyarasa and Kāmadeva mentioned in these verses were, as is clearly indicated by the verses themselves, the Pāṇḍya rulers of Uccaṅgi; and the former, whose full name is Udayāditya, was the son of the latter, who is more generally known by the name of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya.[1] This Kāmadeva Vijaya-Pāṇḍya was the son of the *mahā-maṇḍaleśvara* Rāya-Pāṇḍya and his queen Somā or Sovala-devī, and the younger brother of the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vīra-Pāṇḍya. There are about twelve inscriptions belonging to the reign of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya in vol. XI of EC., of which one at Vāsana (Dāvaṇagere 115) dated Prabhava, Māgha, su- 5, is the earliest. Since an inscription at Harihara (Dāvaṇagere 41) which is dated Prabhava, the tenth year

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1 Compare the following passage in the Dāvaṇagere inscription no. 39 (in EC., XI), lines 31-32 :

seyaṃ Rāya-mahīśvarasya mahiṣī prāsūta Kāmākhyayā
vikhyātaṃ nigaḷaṅkamalla-Vijaya-śrī-Pāṇḍya-bhūpālakam.

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of the Cālukya Jagadekamalla, that is to say the same Prabhava, on Āśvīja, ba-30, Sunday and solar eclipse (Sunday, the 26th October 1147 A.C.), mentions Vīra-Pāṇḍya as reigning, it follows that Vijaya-Pāṇḍya succeeded his brother as ruler in the course of the above-mentioned year Prabhava (1147-48 A.C.). He had (see inscriptions no. 5, 6, 39, 40 of the Dāvaṇagere tāluka) the titles—samadhigatapañcamahāśabda, mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Kāñcīpuravarādhīśvara, Yaduvaṃśāmbaradyumaṇi, subhaṭācūḍāmaṇi, Mahendramaṇimakuṭakoṭivighaṭitanijavijayakarakaṅkaṇa, Illāmātrāsāditasapta Koṅkaṇa, kanakanagaśilā sthāpita pāṭhīna lāñchanajayastambha, dūrīkṛtārātivīravaṣṭambha, Tāmraparṇīnirṇiktamauktikāyutānekaratnakaramudrāmudritabhāṇḍāgāra, Malayagirikandaracandanananandana madhyadeśa niveśita śṛṅgārāgāra, kiṅkarīkṛtabhūtavetālamaṇḍala, svīkṛtānekaripunṛpatimaṇḍala helāgṛhītāhitānekajalaśailadurga, vandīkṛtārātivīramaṇḍalikavarga, śrī Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇadevacaraṇasmaraṇapariṇatāntaḥkaraṇa, Yādavābharaṇa, Pāṇḍyakulakamalamārtaṇḍa, parichedigaṇḍa, Rājiga-Coḷamanobhaṅga and sāhasottuṅga; and the latest inscription of his reign (at Gārehaṭṭi; Ciṭaldrug 33) is dated Saturday, the 19th September, 1187 A.C. The only Pāṇḍya inscription that is later in date is that at Medakerepura (Ciṭaldrug 36) and belongs to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya who is without doubt identical with the above-mentioned Udayāditya. This is dated the 24th January, 1194 A.C.[1] and is the latest of the inscriptions of the Noḷambavāḍi Pāṇḍyas. For, as we are informed by a verse in an inscription at Hire-Yammiganūru (Hoḷalkere 56), dated circa 1220 A.C.,

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1 The 17th January, 1200 A.C. is another possible equivalent of the Śaka date given in the inscription; and I have in fact given this equivalent in my article on the 'Chronology of the W. Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi' (*Ind. Antiquary*, vol. 48, p. 6). The study of the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya rulers of Noḷambavāḍi now leads me, however, to prefer the 24th January, 1194 A.C. as the equivalent of the given Śaka date.

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after Kāmadeva and Udayāditya had reigned, 'the Hoysala king Vīraballāḷa, the crest-jewel of righteous rulers, thrashing the Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, ruled the celebrated Noḷambavāḍi'; and the earliest inscription (at Huvvinahole; EC., XI, Hiriyūr 70) of Vīraballāḷa in that province seems to be actually dated 1194 A.C.[1]

We learn from the second verse[2] of the *Jagannātha-vijaya* (a campū-kāvya written in Kannaḍa by Rudrabhaṭṭa in A.C. 1218-20) which applies the epithet *ari-Kāma-dhvaṃsi*[3] to Vīraballāḷa, that he 'destroyed the enemy Kāma.' After what has been said above, there can be no doubt that this Kāma is no other than the above mentioned Kāmadeva of Uccaṅgi and that the above epithet refers to his being killed by Vīraballāḷa. This event must have happened after the 19th September, 1187 A.C., which is the latest known date of Kāmadeva, and before the death of Bhillama and accession of his son Jaitugi in 1191-1192 A.C.; for, as we have already seen, the above-cited verse of the Bēlūr inscription says, though not very explicitly, that Vīraballāḷa killed first the Pāṇḍya ruler, then Bhillama, and then Jaitugi.

To judge from the language of the above-mentioned verse of the Hire-Yammiganūru inscription, it is very probable that Kāmadeva's son Udayāditya, too, was killed by Vīraballāḷa. But this must have been after the 24th January, 1194 A.C., when we know (see p. 132 above) that Udayāditya was reigning. And hence, the Pāṇḍya ruler who is mentioned in the above-cited verse of the Bēlūr inscription as having been killed by Vīraballāḷa before Bhillama can be Kāmadeva only and not his son Udayāditya.

It may be observed, however, that besides the two Pāṇḍya dynas-

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1 Similarly an inscription at Nandipura (Mūḍgere 4 in EC., VI) states that Vīraballāḷa had his capital in Noḷambavāḍī in 1194 A.C.

2 See p. 200, n. 1 of my afore-mentioned article in the *Journal of Indian History*.

3 In my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, I have interpreted this epithet (p. 200) as 'the defeater of the enemy Kāma,' following the authors of the *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite*. This is a mistake; for, not only does the root *dhvaṃs* mean 'to destroy, to pulverise,' but the god Śiva, to whom too the above epithet applies, destroyed (and not merely defeated) the god Kāma.

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ties of Madhurā and Uccaṅgi mentioned above, there were two other Pāṇḍya dynasties that were ruling in S. India in the 12th century A.C., one at Gutti (in Anantapur district), and the other in Hayve near the west coast. No inscription seems to be published of the rulers of the former dynasty, while there is one of the latter published in EC., VII, Shikarpur 99). This inscription is dated the 24th December, 1112 A.C., and belongs to the reign of Kāmadeva, son of Candra-deva and Sāvale-devī, grandson of Kāma-deva and Bhāgala-devi, and great-grandson of Candra-deva and Kammala-devī; and it mentions as his titles—samadhigatapañcamahāśabda, mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Gokarṇapuravarādhīśvara, gaṇḍaraḍāvaṇi, Koṅkaṅarāṣṭra-pāla, nigaḷaṅkamalla, and Pāṇḍyavaṃśacūḍāmaṇi. We do not know if any of the descendants of this Kāma-deva were reigning in the time of Vīraballāḷa II and fought with him, nor do we know if any Pāṇḍya ruler of Gutti fought with, and was killed by, him before 1191-92 A.C. Similarly, besides the above-mentioned Pāṇḍya *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kāma-deva, we know of another *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of that name, who was the 'enemy' of Vīraballāla II and made war with him in the years 1196-1211 A.C. (see the inscriptions nos. 30, 59, 171 and 307 of the Soraba tāluka in EC., VIII, and the Hāngal inscription referred to by Dr. Fleet on p. 505, n. 3 of DKD). This Kāma-deva belonged to the Kādamba family; but we do not know whether he died a natural death or whether he was killed by Vīraballāḷa. In any case, it is evident from the dates of the above-mentioned inscriptions that he was living in 1211 A.C., and therefore, considering on the whole, (1) that the latest known date for the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kāma-deva of Uccaṅgi is 1187 A.C., (2) that Vīraballāḷa II killed a Pāṇḍya ruler before 1191-92 A.C., and (3) that he killed an 'enemy Kāma', it is also evident that the epithet *asuhṛt-Pāṇḍya-nṛpāla* of the above-cited verse of the Bēlūr inscription and the epithet *ari-Kāma* of the second verse of the Jagannātha-Vijaya refer to the same person, namely, the Pāṇḍya *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kāma-deva of Uccaṅgi.

The reason for Vīraballāḷa's killing him seems to be, as suggested by Dr. Fleet (DKD., p. 505), that Kāma-deva rebelled, i.e., turned hostile to him. This suggestion is borne out by the inscriptions of Kāma-deva who, we know from an inscription at Bēlūr (no. 72, ll. 286-7), received back his kingdom from Ballāḷa after making submission to him. This must have been shortly after Ballāḷa's

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conquest of Uccaṅgi in A.C. 1178. But in an inscription of Kāma-deva (or Vijaya-Pāṇḍya) at Ciṭaldrug (Ciṭaldrug no. 13, in EC., XI), dated A.C. 1184, he is called *śrīmaj-Jagadekamalla-deva-pādābja-bhṛṅga*, that is, follower of the W. Cālukya Jagadekamalla III; and similarly, in the above-mentioned inscription at Gārchaṭṭi, dated the 19th September, 1187, he is called *Tribhuvanamalla-deva-pādābja-bhṛṅga* or follower of the W. Cālukyan emperor Someśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla. These titles indicate clearly that Kāma-deva espoused the cause of the Cālukyan emperors as against that of Ballāḷa; and it is hence very probable that Ballāḷa fought with him once again in A.C. 1188 or 1189 (that is, about the time when Ballāḷa fought with, and defeated, Brahma (the general of Someśvara IV) and killed him.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

The Mauryan Invasion of the Tamilakam

In a short note contributed to the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (vol. XVI, no. 4, p. 304) on the Mauryan invasion of the Tamil land, Mr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri of the Śrī Mīnākṣī College, Chidambaram, concludes that 'the persistent reference to cutting through mountain passes and making a passage for the chariots of the invaders (the Vamba Mauryas) is, however, not now susceptible of any cogent explanation.' To have a clear idea of this cryptic sentence we have to go back to the origin of the story itself. In the beginnings of this century, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, while controverting the 8th or 9th century theory of Bishop Caldwell on the *Augustan Age of Tamil Literature*, fixed the second century as the probable date with sufficient evidence, following the wake of the late lamented V. Kanakasabhai Pillai. In 1913, Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar of the Madras University Tamil Lexicon Committee read an essay on the life of Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan at the Madurā Tamil Saṅgam Anniversary Celebrations in the first instance, which he developed later into a book form. He devoted chapter XII of the book to the determination of the age of the Cera emperor and incidentally brought to the notice of the public the Mauryan invasion of the South, fixing the 5th century as the Augustan

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Age. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar in one of his University Lectures (1918, January and February) examined this theory and then putting up his ideas together writes[1] that "passing in rapid review the late Mr Kanakasabhai's conclusion in regard to the matter, he (Raghava Ayyangar) lays down his main position somewhat as follows :

"It is well-known that among the poets that constituted the ŚAṄGAM, Kapilar, Paranar, Nakkīrar, Māmūlanār and Śāttanār took a prominent place. Among these, Māmūlanār appears, from certain poems included in the Ahananūru, to have been contemporary with Cōla Karikāla, Śeralādan, Kaḷvar Kōmān Pulli ; from this source also appears clearly that he was one who had travelled much in the various parts of the Tamil country and in countries north of it. This poet is taken to be "contemporary with Śenguṭṭuvan Śera, as he refers, in Aham 251, to a war between the Mauryas and the chief of Mōhūr which is taken to stand for the chief Paḷayan Māran, who is said elsewhere to have fought against the Cera. Quoting from Aham 265, he refers to Māmūlanār to of a time subsequent to the destruction of Pāṭaliputra to which he sees a definite reference in the passage quoted. This is the first and in fact the strongest argument of his thesis for ascribing Śenguṭṭuvan to the 5th century A. C. ; but he arrives at this result by a series of arguments which seem to me to find no justification in history. He interprets the expression in the passage quoted as referring to the destruction of Pāṭaliputra by the Ganges ; whereas in actual fact it could mean no more than the disappearance of the great wealth that the Nandas collected in Pāṭaliputra, in the Ganges. This might well have been brought about by the Nandas themselves throwing it into the river, rather than let it fall into the hands of their enemies, in the revolution that subverted their dynasty. Starting from his peculiar interpretation of the passage, he postulates the destruction of Pāṭaliputra by the flood of the Ganges and finds the period of such destruction in the time intervening the visits of the two Chinese travellers to India, namely, Fa Hian in

1 *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chapter iv, pp. 185f.

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the beginning of the 5th century and Hieun Thsang in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century A.C. He further equates the Mauryas who had invaded the territory of Paḷayan Māran, perhaps in a previous generation, with the army of the Gupta king, Samudragupta. He finds support for this in the mention of the Maṇṭarāja who is taken to be 'a king of Kerala' and the same as Māndaram Śeral".

The learned Doctor after fully discussing the subject concludes thus[1] :

"It has already been pointed out that the interpretation of the quotation regarding the Nandas is wrong altogether, and that it is so proved by a similar passage in lines 4 and 5 of poem 251 of Aham; but *there are a number of references which carry the invasion of Mauryas up to Mōhūr of Paḷayan Māran.* In one of these passages, at any rate, the Pandit tries to establish the contemporaneity of this invasion with the Paḷayan Māran, which, from the text, is untenable. The term Mōhūr is used in the passage to stand for the chieftain of Mōhūr, not necessarily Paḷayan Māran. *That reference and the various other references to the Mauryas i: Māmūlanār, as well as the reference to their cutting thei way through rock in their march southwards, all of them do efer possibly to a great southward invasion of the Mau. as, a newly established dynasty.* We know now, beyond loubt, since the discovery of the new edict of Aśoka at āski in the Nizam's dominions, that Aśoka's territory extended right down to the frontier of Mysore within the boundaries of which other edicts were discovered years ago. We know of no wars excepting the famous Kaliṅga war that Aśoka carried on for purposes of conquest. Candragupta not having had the time to do it, the further conquest of territories not included within his empire but included within that of his grand-son, historians ascribed to Candragupta's son Bindusāra, the father of Aśoka, who himself held the viceroyalty of the southern frontiers with his capital at Vidīśa (Bilsa). *The conquest of the south*

1 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

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by the Mauryas must have therefore been made by either Bindusāra, the king, or, by the Viceroy-prince, his son. The term Vaḍukar used in this connection by the Tamils is a general designation for all northerners, and indicates, in the various references before us, an onward move southwards of certain northern tribes of which we get perhaps the final glimpse in the movements of the Pallavas till they come into occupation of Kañcī and the extension of their power at least as far south as Trichinopoly and Kumbakonam. All the passages in Māmūlanār, referring to these incidents, refer to them as past occurrences and not as contemporary events. This interpretation of the passages relating to northerners agrees very well with the claim of certain Tamil kings to having won victories over the Aryan army, which attribute is specifically given to the Pandyan Neḍum Śeḷiyan whose name figures in the *Śilappadhikaram. Such a general movement against the north could on general considerations be postulated only of the period of confusion that followed the decline of the Maurya power in the north and the rise, to the imperial position afterwards, of the Andhras and the Andhra-Bhṛtyas in succession.* The 5th century is hardly the century in which we get anything like a glimpse of such a great movement of people".

This and an article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (October, 1923) entitled *The Kōśar of Tamil Literature* were probably the authority for the statement by Dr. Barnett in the Cambridge History of India (p. 596), that "from the reference of the poets to them it would seem that they once made an unsuccessful attack on Mogur and found allies in the Vamba Moryor or Bastard 'Mauryas', possibly a branch of the Konkāni Mauryas."

On reading the above statement, Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar of Trivandram wrote to the Journal of the Mythic Society (vol. XIV, p. 275) controverting those statements and said that Kōśars were never the advance guard of the Mauryas but were the friends of the Mōgur chieftain. The last of Mr. Sesha Aiyar's article was "*Who were the Vamba Moryar and did they invade South India?*" After elaborately discussing the matter, he came to the conclusion that the reading "Moriar" is incorrect and it ought to be "Oriar" according to the variant reading found in the Puranānūru (Lyric 175). If the

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reading is Moriar, then it ought really to refer the imperial Mauryas. Mr. Sesha Aiyar concludes thus :

"Did these people, whether Moriyar or Oriyar, actually come to South India ? It is clear their objective was South India ; but whether, as a matter of fact, they reached South India we cannot definitely say from the materials available. The relevant poem in this connection is Ahanānūru 281. For their southward march, the poem says, the Moriyar crossed the mountain, sending the Vaḍukar as an advance guard or perhaps opposed by the Vaḍukar. *Vaḍukar Mūnnūra*, which is the expression occurring in the poem, may bear either of these two meanings ; but perhaps the former is preferable. Like the Moriyar, the Vaḍukar too are described as *Vamba Vaḍukar* (Aham 375) ; and they were obviously a ferocious people, as their frequent description 'Katanai Vaḍukar,' 'Vaḍukar fierce as dogs,' would show (Aham 107, 381). If they came as the vanguard of the Moriyar army, they sustained an ignominious and crushing defeat at the hands of the Cola Perum Cenni (Aham 375) ; d we do not hear of any conquest or occupation of the Tamil land by the Moriyar. Perhaps for some reason or other the Moriyar never entered South India, though the language of Aham 281, (ten riśai mātiṛam münnia varavirkü) undoubtedly shows that was the point towards which their advance was originally directed."

On reading this article, Mr. Nilakantha Sastri wrote to say that the reading Moriyar has been established, but the *reference to cutting through mountain passes and making a passage for the chariot of the invaders* (Vin poru nedum kudai yiyerèr mēriyar, pon punai tikiri, tiri tara-k-kuraitta) *could not be cogently explained.* (The italics all along are mine).

Mr. Sesha Aiyar in his learned article contends that even though the reading Moriyar is established, they never entered the South or Tamilakam. I shall show that he is correct in saying that the Mauryas never entered South India. The odes where this information is recorded are three in number (Nos. 69, 251 and 281). They run as follows :

Āi nalan tholainda meniyu māmalar-t-
Takai vana-p-pilanda kaṇṇum vakai yila
Vaṇṇam vādiya variyu nōkki
Yāla lanrici niyē uridini
Nida limbam vaiki mai varach-
Sai poru-t-tiravaraki-p-pullilai-p-

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Parā arai nelli yam puḷi-t-tiraḷ kāi
Kāna mada marai-k-kaṇa nirai kavarum
Veni latta menna démuṟṟu
Viṇporu nedu varai yiyarer Moriyar
Poṇ punai tikiri tiritara-k-kuraita
Varai iran dakanrana rayiuum enaiyadüv
Nīdalar vāḷi toḷi yādian
Madamayi loḷitta pēli vārndutan
Cilai mäṇ valviṟ cuṟṟi-p-palama
Nambudai-k-kaiya-raraṇpala nūri
Nankalam taru-um-vayavar pervmakan
Cudar maṇi-p-perumbuṇ nāi kānattu-t-
Talainā ḷalari nāṟunin
Nalar mulai yāka-t-tinruyin maṟandai. (69 Paraṇ koṟṟanār).

The maid soothes her lady who was pining on the inordinate delay of her lord that went in search of gold (property). A free translation of the ode will run thus : O Lady ! be soothed. Please do not pine at the loss of the colour of the body and eyes that were radiant like lilies, nor at the stoppage of writings on the body ; be brave ; as you are the only favourite, he would not tarry longer (than is necessary), forgetting the pleasures he enjoyed with you, though he, your lord, who is able to present you with brilliant ornaments by destroying the fortifications guarded by men with strong bows and arrows that are adorned with the feathers of peacocks, has passed, in search of gold, that mountain that has stopped the further rolling of the wheel of the golden chariot of the Moriyas who rule the mountain, that tower the sky (Himālaya).

Tūdūm chenrana tōḷüm cheṟṟu,
Môti yoṇṇutaṟ-p-paśalayü māyum, ala
Vingiḷai nehiḷa-ch-chā ai-ch-chellalodu,
Nām padar kūru maründüyar kètpi,
Nandan veṟukkai yeydinü maṟṟavaṭ,
Ṭangalar vāiḷ tôḷi velkodi-t-,
Tunai kālanna punai tèr-k-kóśar.
Ton mūtālat-t-tarüm paṇai-p-potiyi,
Linnicai murasaṅ kadippidittiranga-t-
Temmünai chidaitta gñanrai Môkūr,
Paṇiadamaya pakai talai vanda,
Mākéḷu tānai vamba môriyar,
Punai tèr nèmi yuriḷiya kuṟaitta,

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Vilangu veḷḷaruviya varaiva yumbar,
Mācil veṇko-ṭ-ṭaṇṇal yānai,
Viḷaiyu-ṭ-ṭappiya varungkeḷ vayappuli.
Mānila neḷiyak kutti-p-pukalodu,
Kāppil vaikum tèkkamil colai,
Nirambā nilidai-p-pôki,
Arambô ḷavaḷai nilai nekiḷn dôré.

(251 Māmūlanār).

This is an ode by the maid to her lady on her sorrow on the departure of her lover. 'O lady bird! Calm yourself, footmen have been despatched to your lord who has gone to the other side of the mountain, that has streams with transparent water, which stopped the further march and turned back the running of the ornamented cars of the Vamba (unstable) Moriyas, who came with a large army intent upon war. When he, who was enjoying the pleasures of your company in the wild forest where male elephants with huge tusks soothe the she-elephants, hears the sufferings you are undergoing by the loss of the colour of the body and the brilliancy of the eyes, he would not tarry even for a minute, though he is to get the wealth of Nanda.'

Caivathü tèrindi ci-ṛ-rôḷi yalkalu
Mākalu lāṇmai achchara-k-kūṛiya
Corplü tāku menṛü manjā
Tolkiyan madamayi loḷitta peeli
Vān pôḷ valvi-r-chüṛṛi nôn pilai
Yavvār viḷimbi-ṛ-kamainda novviya-ṛ-
Kanaikuṛa licaikkum viraicela-ṛ-kadungaṇai
Muraṇmiku vadukar münnüra moriyar
Tenṛicai mādiram münniya varaviṛku
Viṇṇura vongiya paniyiṛum kunṛa-t-
Toṇ kadir-t-tihiri yuruḷiya kuṛaitta
Varai irandavarô cenṛanar
Paṛai yaṛain tanna valar namakkoḷitte.

(281 Māmūlanār).

This is also an ode by the maid addressed to her lady in her sorrow on the departure of her lover. 'Lady! Be considerate in your actions; before departing from here, your lord promised to show his valour (and return soon); now he has gone to the other side of the mountain which stopped the further running of the chariot-wheel—which resembles the splendour of the Sun that

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rises in the high mountains full of dew, and towers up to the sky—of the Moriyar, with the troublesome Vaḍukar, who are sharp-shooters, for their vanguard, whose intention it was to reach the southern sea ; he has removed our disreputation like the sounds of a war-drum'.

The main idea conveyed by these odes is that the heroes[1] have crossed a certain mountain. If the query why and for what purpose they pass that particular mountain is raised, the reader is forced to search for an answer in the odes themselves which are usually complete pieces. It is for the purpose of driving out the Moriyar whose intention it was to go to the southern sea, that is, to subjugate the southern kingdoms according to 281. They had for their vanguard people living on the other side of the Venkata hill, who were the next neighbours of the Tamils. The Tamil army was commanded by the chieftain of Mōhūr (251), though the generalissmo was the Pāṇḍya Neduncheliyan—Āriyappadai Kadanda according to Chilappathikaram. That they won a victory over their enemy is obvious from No. 69, where it is clearly stated that the hero is engaged in destroying the fortifications of the enemies on the other side of the Venkata hill. It is pertinent to ask how the Venkata hill was fixed as the limit of the entry of the Moriyar ; it may be pointed out that in ode 265 (264 of the "Beginnings of South Indian History" by S. K. Ayyangar, p. 89) it is expressly stated that the hero crossed the Venkata hill ; the ode graphically describes the people inhabiting that tract. That is the northernmost natural boundary of the Tamilakam as is found in the literature of old.

I have to note in passing that I have followed my own Mss. readings of the odes concerned. Taking first ode No. 251, the word *Paniyadamaya* has been read as *Paniyamayil* in the "Beginnings of South Indian History" (p. 88, note 9). That is also the reading in the printed edition. But I must point out that the word paniyamayil makes no sense there and the construction too remains unfinished. So also the word *Varaivayumbar* has been read as *Araivayumbar*. Pandit A. M. Sadagoparamanuja

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1 Niṇam poti viḷuttadi neruppīn vaitedu-t-, Taṇaṅkaru marapiṛ-ṛ-pè yai pôla,-Viḷarūn ṛinṛa vètkai nīngā-t-, Tukaḷara viḷainda tōpi pariki-k-, Kulā a valvi-ṛ-koduñô-k-kādavar, Pulā a -ṛ-kaiyar pooca vāya, Rorācu vürüṭṭüm kudumi- k-kurā a lodu, Marā an cīrūr marungi-ṛ-ṛīngum, Cenṅütal yānai venkatam taḷī vemmunai yarum cura mirandor.

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Charya of the Government College, Kumbakonam, in his learned contribution on Kōśar to the *Sen-Tamil*, writes that it may be a place near Podiya mountain (vol. XXIV, p. 23). *Aṛai vai* means a mountain pass and, unless there is a natural opening in the mountain ranges, to cross them would be a difficult task. This point should be taken into consideration. Same is the case with ode No. 69.

Now taking stanza 251 first for a critical study, the subject of the ode is the hero of the poem (Nalinekilintor); the predicate is "would not tarry longer" (tangalar); though as an intransitive verb it will not allow an object, the questions 'where and for what purpose' may be put and in answer we get that he has gone beyond the mountain in pursuit of wealth. In passing it may be mentioned that, in the poems called Aham, a lover is permitted to separate himself from the object of his love either for the sake of wealth or of learning. All the odes under discussion refer to the separation for the sake of wealth. In days of yore, it was the habit of heroes to go on expedition for amassing wealth. We know from many other sources that the sons of Tamilakam were all brave warriors and were brought up as such by their mothers even from their infancy. The internecine quarrels were a pastime with them. Hence the particular hero's motive could not be other than warfare under some one's banner. For what purpose did he go to the other side of the mountain is the question. That he went there to fight has to be inferred from this ode. But 69 is more explicit on the point. We read there that the hero would bring precious ornaments (*Nankalan tarūm*) after demolishing the well-guarded fortifications. 281 also gives room for the inference that the object of going there was to fight the enemies of Tamilaḳam, that is, the Moriyar who had the Vaḍukar as their vanguard. Aham 31 throws much light in this matter. This ode also is by Māmūlanār. The poet here says that the hero has gone beyond many mountains where our language is unknown and which places are guarded by the 3 Tamil kings. The commentator on the above also explicitly says that the hero went far away crossing many mountains.

Take again stanza 69. There the poet puts into the mouth of the maid the following: Forgetting the pleasures he enjoyed with you (ll. 19, 20), he has crossed to the other side of the mountain (*Varai crandakan-ranarūyinum* l. 12). In answer to the query which mountain did he cross or pass over, we must point out the mountain that stopped the further rolling of the wheels of the car of the Moriyar.

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Incidentally he describes the place on the other side as a barren tract where the stags and hinds eat sour gooseberries (ll. 7-8).

No. 281 is more direct and pointed. Here the Moriyar's intention is clearly stated. Their place of destination is the southern-most point of the continent ; but they were stopped by the mountain. And our hero has gone just beyond that mountain which stopped the further running of the chariot-wheel.

One more point has to be conceded. As a general rule, a poet would not dare to sing the defects or the losses of his patron, but on the other hand, would exaggerate even a small achievement. Moreover, if the defeat of the chiefs of the Tamil land were real, the compilers of these odes would not have selected such themes for their poems.

Now coming to the Kōśars mentioned in ode 254, Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar is of opinion that they were the advance guard of the Moriyar and as such administered a crushing defeat upon their enemies near Podiyil Hill. Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar has ably refuted the point and said that it should be rejected as a myth. (Q. Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. xiv, p. 227). Pandit A. M. S. Charya of the Kumbakonam College in an erudite contribution to the *Sen-Tamil* (vol. XXIV, pp. 33-48) divides the Kōśaras into three categories, viz., (1) warrior people of Tulunad, (2) men of royal family and (3) civil judges. He opines that the Kōśars referred to in Aham 251 belong to the 1st category.[1]

Why all the previous writers hold that a passage was cut through the mountain passes for the chariots of the invaders (Moriyar Punaiter nemi yuruliya kuraitta) is not explicable. Perhaps they rely on similar passage in Puram 173, where the scholiast says that the Himālayas was cut through for the passage of the cars of a certain

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1 Irumbu idampadutta Vadurudai muhattar Karunkat Kōśar. Aham, 90.

Maimali pêrumpūt Chemmar-h-Kōśar. Ibid., 15.

Kadaladu mahaiir Koida ñalalūm, Kalani yulavar kuṟṟa Kuralaeyum, Kadimibai-p-puravir-p-putta drullayodu pallilan Kōśar. Ibid., 216.

Kappu-k-kai nurneṭṭa pal-vir-k-Kōśar. Ibid., 113.

Nannam naṟuma Kousu Mattvi-p-pokkia cenru moli Kōśar. *Kuruntohai*, 73.

Valan Kolu Kōśar vibangu padai nūṟi. Ibid., 205.

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king who was the lord of the world.[1] He also gives a variant reading and notes that there are men who may take it as Cakravālam. This scholiast has been regarded, by some at least, if not by all, as incorrect in this particular instance, since he misunderstands Moriyar with Oriar. Now if the scholiast of Puranānūru is liable to misunderstand in one place, why not in other cases also. And so our conclusion will be this. A particular mountain is spoken of here. The word 'varai' is preceded by the word 'kuraitta' (cut) which literally means cutting and its meaning is clearly expressed when it is preceded by the word 'uruliya' (rolling). When the two words 'uruliya' and 'kuraitta' are put together, the meaning would be that the rolling of the wheels was cut, referring by that to the mountain that stopped the rolling of the wheels of the cars. Of course, it is accepted on all hands that the cars belonged to the Moriyar. So, we may be justified in holding that the warriors went to the Venkata, the hill that stopped the further rolling of the cars of the Moriyar.

External evidences are not wanting to show that all the Tamil kingdoms were independent of foreign power. If Bindusāra as the Viceroy-prince or the king had really subjugated the Tamilakam, Aśoka would not have left it unmolested but would have sent there embassies; the Tamil bards also would have sung the defeat of their own force, at least in an indirect way. Nor is there a single stanza or ode relating to any king of the Moriya line ruling over the Tamil land.

From the lengthy survey of the odes concerned and other poems, it may be concluded as certain that the Moriyar were not allowed to enter Tamilakam and the last point they reached was the Venkata hill. The battle took place on the other side of the Venkata hill between the combined armies of the Ceras, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas under the general command of Pāṇḍyan Nedunceliyan who was ably assisted by the Mōhūr chieftain and the Moriyar asisted by Vaḍukar or Telugus.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR

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1 "Venri Vèlai yudaiya visumbai-t-tôyum nediya kudaiyinaiyum kodi yaninda tèrinaiyüm yudaiya nilamüluthüm anda vèndarathu tiṇṇiya ās soolntha sakkaram yiyangudaṛku-k-kuṛuik-kappaṭṭa velli malaikku appal ākayiya ülakot- tirku-k-kaliyum idai kali yakiya aṛṛai vāy".

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Marriage in Jaina Literature

Jainism is one of the most ancient religions of India. It teaches that the soul is perfect, happy and all-powerful, but it is in bondage to matter; consequently, by transmigration it undergoes all sorts of suffering. The acts of *Rāga* (Love) and *Dveṣa* (Aversion), which it performs through the *Yoga* (vibration or impulse) of mind, speech and body, attract to it a subtle Karmic matter that causes its various conditions. Hence in Jainism, marriage is one of the results of these *Karmas*.[1] In consequence of the 'conduct-deluding-karma' (cāritramohanīyakarma), the couples are tempted to marry.[2] As the said Karma operates in the individuals, their sensual desire is awakened and they get united.

Marriage Defined.

The Jaina Purāṇas corroborate this. In the beginning of the present *Kalpa*, there existed the *Bhogabhūmi* in *Bhāratakṣetrā*,[3] and men and women were born in couples. After their birth, the parents breathed their last and then the couples, who in the meantime had gained youth, lived as husband and wife.[4] This is a simple but natural love in consequence of the operation of the *Cāritra-moha*.

Marriage in the Bhogabhūmi.

After the *Bhogabhūmi*, the period of individual exertion or the *Karmabhūmi* followed and the birth by couples came to an end. Issues were born single as we find it now-a-days. Accordingly a new mode of marriage, viz., Svayaṃvara came into use. This was the so-called *sanātana mārga* and the best of all the forms of marriages[5] such as *gāndharva* (love-marriage by mutual consent), *Rākṣasa* (taking away the bride by force), *Āsura* (giving one's

Karmabhūmi; Svayaṃvara and other kinds of marriage.

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1 Vide "The Jaina Gem Dictionary," p. 57.

2 "Cāritramohodayāt vivahanaṃ vivāhaḥ."—The Rājavārtika.

3 "*Bhogabhūmi*—The regions where there is enjoyment only, i. e., people do not have to work for their sustenance, and the arts of agriculture etc. are neither necessary nor known. All that the people want, they get from the wishing-trees called *Kalpavṛkṣas*."—The Jaina Gem Dictionary, p. 35.

4 The Mahāpurāṇa, 3, sls. 14-239.

5 Ibid., 44ff.

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daughter for money) etc., which were eight in all.[1] At the beginning of the *Karmabhūmi* of this *yuga*, Svayaṃvara was re-introduced for the first time by Rājā Akampaṇa of Benares. Bharat, the then reigning monarch of India, welcomed it in all sincerity.[2] Ere this the wives of Srī Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, were not selected in Svayaṃvara. Rather the Tīrthaṅkara's father selected two virgin princesses for him and he had to marry them.[3] Polygamy has been in vogue amongst the Jainas from the very beginning of this age, and even today it has not quite disappeared. The wives of Ṛṣabhadeva were indeed selected by his father; but it does not mean that this was the rule or that it was not considered the next best after Svayaṃvara. Anyway, it seems certain from the evidence of the Jaina Purāṇas that both the forms were in use from very early times.

Marriages between the four varṇas.

In Svayaṃvara no distinction of caste and creed was made. Hence the field of selection was very wide. *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma vivāhas* were freely contracted. A few examples from Jaina Purāṇas are cited below:

(1) Vāsudeva was a Kṣatriya prince of Jaduvaṃśa. He married a Brāhmaṇa girl named Somaśrī after defeating her in Dhanurvidyā.

(2) Śrī Kṛṣṇa contracted the marriage of his brother Gajakumāra with Somā, the daughter of Somaśarmā Brāhmaṇa.[5]

(3) Dhanyakumāra was the son of a merchant of Ujjayinī. Though he definitely made himself known as a Vaiśyaputra, Śreṇika Bimbasāra, king of Rājagṛha, gave his daughter Guṇavatī away to him in marriage.[6]

(4) Bhaviṣyadatta was from the class of traders, but he was married to the daughter of a Kṣatriya king.[7]

(5) Śreṇika Bimbasāra, a Kṣatriya of course, while in exile, married the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa.[8]

(6) Pārāśara was the king of Gajapura in Kurujāṅgāladeśa. He was in love with the daughter of a fisherman, named Guṇavatī,

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1 Vide Nītivākyāmṛta. 2 Mahāpurāṇa, 45, 54f.

3 Mahāpuraṇa, p. 15, sls. 50-99.

4 Harivaṃśa, Sarga 23, sls. 49-51.

5 Harivaṃśapurāṇa by Jinadas quoted in the Vivāhakṣetraprakāśa. 6 Vivāhaprakāśa, pp. 163-170.

7 Bhavisayattakahā, G. O. S., No xx, pp. 76 and 90-96.

8 Uttarapur

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but the fisherman was not willing to marry his daughter, unless the king promised to give the throne to the son who might be born to his daughter. Then the Crown Prince gave up his claim to the throne and the king was married to the fisherman's daughter. This shows that the Śūdras were not willing to give their daughters away in marriage to the people of the upper classes. The obvious reason was that the Śūdras and other low-borns were not allowed to marry the girls of upper classes. Once a Brāhmaṇa Dāsīputra married a Brāhmaṇa girl; but when the latter came to know about the former's low birth, she at once severed her connections with him and lived a lonely life (See Śāntipurāṇa 5, 4, 29).

Instances might be multiplied, but these, I hope, will suffice.

Marriages with non-Jainas and new converts.

We should note, however, that marriages were contracted not only among the Jainas themselves, but also among parties, of which either was a non-Jaina or a convert to Jainism.

For instance: (1) Rājā Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī was a staunch Jaina. Still his daughter Celanā was married to king Śreṇika Bimbasāra, Buddhist at the time. It was through the efforts of Celanā that the great king was converted to Jainism.[1]

(2) King Dhanasena of Kauśāmbī followed the Vedic religion, but his queen Dhanaśrī professed Jainism.[2]

(3) Vasumitra, the merchant, paid reverence to the Jaina gurus; but his wife Dhanaśrī was a non-Jaina.[3]

(4) Nīlī was the daughter of the Jaina Seṭh Jinadatta of Bhṛgukacha. Sāgardatta of the same place was a non-Jaina. He found that the Jaina Seṭh was not willing to marry his daughter to a non-Jaina. Consequently, he adopted the Jaina faith. When the Jaina Seṭh found nothing wanting in him, the marriage was celebrated. But soon after, Sāgaradatta got back to his former religion. This was a calamity for the Jainas as well as for Nīlī, who was tortured to give up her faith.[4]

Such instances, I think, obliged the later Jainas to limit the field of marriage to their own caste and religion. But in the early periods, when there was not much hostility between the followers of various sects in India, the marriages were freely contracted between them. Even historical persons like the Jaina Kavi Dhanañjaya, and the

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1 Vimalapurāṇa, pp. 53-60.
2 Ārādhanākathākoṣa, III, 89.
3 Ibid., III, 113.
4 Ibid., II, 28,

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famous Buddhist Lexicographer Amara Siṃha, had their wives from amongst the Buddhists and Jainas respectively.

Marriages with Foreigners and Mlecchas.

At that time marriages were also contracted with people, who were either not of the Aryan stock and were called Mlecchas or who resided in foreign countries. Below are given a few instances:

(1) King Bharat, the first monarch of India, had a good number of Mleccha girls as his consorts.[1]

(2) Vāsudeva married a Mleccha-kanyā Jarā and he had by her a son Jaratkumāra.[2]

(3) Bhaviṣyadatta married a lady of Tilakadvīpa, by name Tilakasundarī, who was not of his own caste and country.[3]

(4) King of Ceylon gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Karkaṇḍu.[4]

(5) Upaśreṇika, the father of the famous king of Rājagṛha, fell in love with the daughter of a chief of *Bhīlas* and the same *Bhīla-kanyā* was married to him.[5]

(6) Pālita was a Jaina merchant of Campā. He sailed to Pihuṇḍa-nagara for business, where he got himself married. While coming back, a son was born to his wife on the deck of the ship, and was named Samudrapāla.[6]

It is noteworthy that there is hardly an instance of a marriage where the Jaina girls were given in marriage to foreigners. On the contrary, we find that the Vidyādharas or Nabhaṣcaras who possessed various extraordinary powers and thought themselves more cultured than the Bhūmagacarīs or Thalacaras (of India and outside) brought their girls to present to the latter. For instance, Jvalanjatī Vidyādhara came to Podanapura with his daughter and married her to Triprasta, the Crown Prince of Bhūmagacarīs of the said place (See Śāntināthapurāṇa, 3, 44-50). Besides the above, illegal daughters born out of wedlock or of prostitutes were accepted even by eminent Jainas.[7] Duṣyanta accepted Śakuntalā as his wife who was illegally born. It seems that in ancient India, it was not thought unnatural to marry a befitting girl from any position or caste. Instances of not forsaking the girls

1 Mahāpurāṇa, 37 2 Harivaṃśapurāṇa.
3 Bhavisayattakahā, Sandhi 5, pp. 29-38.
4 Karakaṇḍucarita.
5 Vivāhakṣetraprakāśa, p. 103. 6 Uttarādhyanasūtra, 21.
7 Vivāhakṣetraprakāśa, p. 39 and 123 ; Harivaṃśapurāṇa, sarga 21.

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of one's own family and gotra are not wanting, though they are not found in abundance.[1] In short, it is certain that in the early Jaina Church, when the great Tīrthaṅkaras were living, the field of marriage was not so cramped and limited as it is now. At that time, it was found in its natural stage. The Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras made it clearly known that there was only one class of men[2] and that there was no difference between man and man.[3] The divisions into Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were simply to facilitate the earning of livelihood.

Marriages with out-castes etc.

But in later times the circumstances changed and with that the custom of marriage also changed. The next earliest law-giver is Śrī Jinasenācārya. He enjoined upon the Jainas to follow the marriage rule in the *Anuloma* form, i. e., a Brāhmaṇa may marry in all the four *varṇas*, but the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra in their own and in that which is lower than theirs.[4] This shows that, even in the early centuries of the Christian era, the field of marriage was not so limited,[5] and the girls of Sūdras and Dāsas were accepted by the men of higher classes, as is evident from the Jaina Law books on Partition etc.[6] But it seems that the things were changed when the Muhammadan conquests began. The Śūdras and Dāsas were discarded. Only the upper three classes—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya were allowed to marry between themselves.

Marriage afterwards.

Later on the field of marriage was further restricted. With the advent of the Muhammadans, it was almost impossible to stick to the old customs. The people were influenced by circumstances. Accordingly, we find that many a small sect came into existence among the Jainas during this period. These sects simply denote that they are different groups of the Jainas of certain districts and towns. The marriage was limited to each of the sects only. Although a few examples of inter-marriages in these different sects

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1 Ibid., p. 51 and 148.

2 Mahāpurāṇa, parva 38, 45.

3 Uttarapurāṇa 24, 491, 492.

4 Rājā Kakkuka Pratihāra of Mārwāḍa was a Jaina and one of his ancestors married a Kṣatriya lady. Thus he was a Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya (See Prāchīnalipimālā, p. 65).

5 Jaina Law (Madras), pp. 61-64.

6 See Dharmasaṃgrahaśrāvakācāra.

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may be traced,[1] yet the general rule was and still is to marry in one's own sect only. This rigidness is now being slackened.

The earlier Jainas at the time of Tīrthaṅkaras considered full youth to be the appropriate age for marriage.[2] The couples were married when young and the honeymoon ceremony followed soon. When the parents saw that their children had reached the teens, they arranged for their marriages either by Svayaṃvara or selection. The *gāndharva-vivāhas*, of which we hear now and then in that age, corroborate this fact. This love-marriage was possible only when the couples had stepped over their respective periods of maturity. But after the Tīrthaṅkaras in later times, the parents did not wait to this age. They married their children when the bride reached the age of 16 and the bridegroom 20 years. Later on, during the Muhammadan period, however, it became necessary to marry one's daughter as early as possible. This is why we find the Jaina Śāstras of this period advocating 12 years as the age for bride and 16 years as that for the bridegroom. Even to this day, the Jainas are sticking to this principle of *Āptikāla* of the *Jainācāryas*; but there are signs also of a new turn now.

Age for marriage.

At present, the rites and customs of marriage among the Jainas vary according to the influences of the provinces in which they live; though they are still to be regarded the same in their main features as in ancient times. We find that Sulocanā, who was married in Svayaṃvara at the time of Śrī Ṛṣabhadeva, was first taken by certain married ladies, her relations, into the *Vivāhamaṇḍapa*, erected on the occasion in a befitting manner, and then as she reached and sat there facing east, she was bathed and anointed with fragrance. After that they all went with Sulocanā to the *Jina-caityālaya* (temple) and performed *Jinapujā* (worship) with great devotion. Then at the fixed *lagna* (auspicious moment), she was carried to the *Svayaṃvaramaṇḍapa*, where all the guests, royal and otherwise, were present and from whom she selected a youth of her choice, and placed garland round his neck. Then followed the performance of Jinapujā, a great feast and rejoicings. The bride and bridegroom were to observe the recorded rites

Customs and Ceremonies.

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1 See the inscription of Tejapāla in the Jaina Temple, Dilwārā Ābū, in which mention of a marriage between the Podawāla and Moḍa—two different sects of the Jaina is made.

2 Harivaṃśapurāṇa, sarga 55, Slokas 73 ff.

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consisting of the Jinapuja and "Saptapadī denoting mutual consent." In case the marriage was not according to the Svayaṃvara rule, the only difference made was that there were no *Svayaṃvaramaṇḍapa* and the ceremonies in it. Instead, the *Vāgdāna* ceremony took place, which was but a kind of betrothel. The bridegroom with his relatives and friends came on the fixed date to the house of the bride and then the above rites were observed. But in later times, under the influence of the Vedic Brāhmaṇas, the worship of Agni, Vināyaka etc. entered into the Jaina marriage and is to be found to this day.[1] These ceremonies in the name of Jaina marriage are useless and worth abandoning. So the marriage among the modern Jainas is not of the same kind throughout. In South India, even widow-marriage is permissible since the mediæval times; though in earlier Jaina literature not a single instance of it is to be traced. But the Jaina Śāstras declare that if after the marriage has taken place, either of the couples finds any defect in the other within the time presscribed for honeymoon and complains of it, then that marriage is null and void and the bride is free to marry again.[2]

The object of marriage in Jainism is twofold: viz, (1) to give a legitimate outlet to sensual feelings so that the human being may rightly live a useful life, enjoying the fruits of Dharma, Artha and Kāma,[3] and thus be entitled to attain the great object—the *Mokṣa*; (2) and to promote the cause of *Dharma* (Law) by generating righteous and chivalrous sons and daughters. It is a duty of the householder to be contented with his own wife and to contrive for the continuance of the human race.[4]

The object of Marriage.

Thus we find that though marriage is advocated in Jainism, it is no less condemned there; for, it is an outcome of the *Karmas* after all. Besides, in Jainism the great aspiration of the householder is *Mokṣa* which cannot be gained until one observes full Brahmacarya and subdues the senses. But as this is no easy task and the worldly man cannot at once adopt the hard and rigid Brahmacarya, he is allowed to marry and to live a contented life.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

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1 Ādipurāṇa, 38, 127-131.
2 Trivarṇācāra, ch 11, 171-173.
3 Nītivākyāmṛta.
4 Mahāpurāṇa, 15, 61-64.

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The Taḷi Inscriptions in the Cochin State and their Importance

Introductory

The Taḷi inscriptions in the Talappaḷḷi Taluk, Cochin State, are important in many respects, and a study of them will be of considerable interest from different points of view.[1]

The records under reference are inscribed on different slabs in the Vātalmāḍam of the Siva temple at Taḷi,[2] eight miles west of Ceṟuvirutti on the Shoṟanūr-Cochin branch of the South Indian Railway. About 2 miles south-west of Ceṟuvirutti, on the road to Taḷi, is situated the once famous village of Nedumpura, which received its name from Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu,[3] the country around it. This appears to have included the major portion of the Talappaḷḷi Taluk and to have extended up to the eastern borders of Pālghāt.

I—Political

These inscriptions mention the names of such monarchs as Kôtai Ravi, Indēśvaran Kôtai and Bhāskara Ravi and of a king, Yākô-Iraiyar, a prince entirely new alike to South Indian epigraphy and history. These records may afford us a fair idea as to the extent of the sway exercised by these potentates, especially when we note that some of these names repeat themselves in the *Travancore Archaeological Series and Reports.* As they recur with such persistence and in such distant and scattered places like the suburbs of Ceṅganāśśéri in North Travancore and Tirunelli in the mountainous Wynad plateaux of North Malabar, they may be considered as important links in the

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1 Vide Nos. 341-348 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, 1924, *Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-5.

2 Vide p. 255 of Sewell's *List of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*, vol. I.

3 This is identified by Dr. Hultzsch, the late Government Epigraphist, with Pālghāt, in his edition of the Jews' plate (vol. III, p. 68 of *Epigraphia Indica*) and with Puraigiḷanāḍu of the Tirunelli (Vide pp. 285-292, vol. XX, *Indian Antiquary*).

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chain of evidence which may establish that the All-Kēraḷa empire of the Perumāḷs was a reality and not the favourite dream of a patriotic and well-meaning but uncritical posterity.

None of the Cochin inscriptions hitherto published refer to any of these kings (the famous Jews and Kôṭṭayam plates excepted). Hence these epigraphs, considered along with others of Indu Kôtai in the Maṇappuṛam Temple and in Puducode,[1] of Kôtai Iravi from Tṛpparaṅgôḍu and in the Chōkūr Temple in Puttūr *amśam*[2] in Ponnāni Taluk, and of Śrī Vāḷa Rāmar from Tiruvaṇṇūr[3]—all in South Malabar—form a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of the Imperial Perumāḷ Dynasty.

They bring to light the name of a king hitherto quite unknown in the annals of Kēraḷa. It is yet a point for careful and minute investigation whether the name *Yā-Kō-Iraiyar*[4] is a misreading for *Kô Irāmar* (king Rāma) and, if so, whether he can be identified with Kô Śrī Vāḷa Rāmar or the Kēraḷa king[5] panegyrised in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭatiri or the Rāma Tiruvaḍi of the Quilon record.[6] It would also be a fruitful line of inquiry to see whether the word can be read as *Kô-Iravi*—as the Madras Epigraphical Department are inclined to believe—and, if so, whether it refers merely to a king known as Ravi, and whether any of the Ravis mentioned in the Nāmakkal plates of Vīra Côḷa[7] is the same monarch. Again, it might be interesting to see whether it is but a contraction for Kôtai Ravi, Bhāskara Ravi or Ravi Rāma.[8]

The importance of inscriptions Nos. 343 and 344 of 1924 lies

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1 *Annual Report*, Nos. 12 of 1901, and 354 of 1924, Madras.

2 A. R. Nos. 219 of 1895 and 13 of 1901, Madras.

3 A. R. No. 220 of 1895, Madras.

4 The Government Epigraphical Report reads "*Yā-Kô-Irayar*."

5 *The Travancore State Manual* by Mr. V. Nagamayya, vol. III, p. 427.

6 *The Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 40-46.

7 The third plate discovered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A.; cf., *Epigraphical Report*, Madras, 1906, p. 73, para 31.

8 These doubts can be cleared for all time, if the transcripts are published with the plates, and, I believe, it will take a pretty long time, as the Epigraphical Department has only just published inscriptions unearthed 25 or 30 years ago.

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mainly in the fact that they enable us to fix approximately the date of King Kôtai Ravi, which was not possible before, though inscriptions of his reign have been found in Malabar and Cochin, if not in Travancore. No. 344 is dated in his 17th year, Jupiter being in Mithuna. No. 343, though registered separately, seems to be a continuation of the above. It yields us an important clue, as it ends with the conclusive and definite statement that it was written in the Kali year 4,030 (or 928 A.C.), which would give 911 A.C. as the year of Kôtai Ravi's accession; and if he is the Kôtai Ravi of the Tṛppūṇittuṟa inscription, he must have continued to reign till 941 A.C., as it is dated in his 30th regnal year.[1] From this it would appear that he was lord of much of the country now comprised in South Malabar and Cochin.

Even of the kings known to epigraphy, the published inscriptions of Indu Kôtai Varman and Bhāskara Ravi Varman are rare in South Malabar and Cochin. Hence the discovery of inscription No. 341 belonging to the 17th year of king Indu Kôtai (Kô-Indēśvaran Kôtai), when Jupiter was in Kanyā *rāśi*, is a valuable addition to our limited stock of information about him. It is note-worthy that, till now, his latest regnal year met with in inscriptions is only 16[2] which has been calculated to correspond to 971 A.C.

The Bhāskara Ravi record (No. 348) dated in the 13th year of his reign (Jupiter being in Tulā) is the second inscription of that king found in the Cochin State, the other being the Jews' deed. It is indeed a far cry from Tirunelli to the Cochin Town and to Ceṅganāśśēri and Taḷi lies between these places. The existence of such a relic of Bhāskara Ravi Varman's reign *may* go to weaken the case for the duplication of Bhāskara Ravis known to epigraphy.

Thus it will be admitted that, in view of the absence of any settled Cēra chronology—exceptiug what can be gathered from the Nāmakkal plates of Vīra Cōḷa, the names in which have yet to be identified—these epigraphs would prove to be very helpful in the reconstruction of early Kēraḷa history.

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1 Vide the *Cochin State Manual* by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., p. 40. It has also been copied by the Madras and Travancore Archæological Departments.

2 Vide *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. V, p. 114.

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II—Constitutional

Apart from their value from the view-point of political history, the Taḷi inscriptions—in spite of their relating to matters of temple routine—are of considerable significance constitutionally, i.e., when viewed as a chapter in the history of local and representative government in ancient Kēraḷa, the temple being the centre and source of the corporate activities of the district.

The residents of the 18 districts of Nityavicāreśvaram (*the patineṭṭu nāṭṭār*) and the. Manager (*Taḷi Taḷiyāḷvān, Taḷiyūravan or Taḷiyār*) and officers (*the Taḷiyadhikārar ordy Adhikārigaḷ*) of the pagoda as well as the *Paṭanāyar* or commander of the district called Neḍumpurayūrnād constituted the Nityavicārēśvaram assembly. It met in the premises of the temple under the presidency of the *Paṭanāyar*, an officer who, in the present case, was different from the *nāḍuvāḷi* or ruler of the district. Further researches may reveal the distinctive appellation applied to this institution, the methods of filling up the places of the *nāṭṭār* and other cognate matters.

The *Taḷiyāḷvān* was a subordinate officer appointed and removable perhaps by the assembly and certainly accountable to it, as will be noticed from the fact that the meetings were presided over by his superiors.

The *Adhikārigaḷ* (or *Taḷiyadhikārar*) seem to have included the *tāḷpaṟṟi* or *tāḷvupaṟṟi*[1] and the *potuvāḷs*, especially the *akappotuvāḷs*. Of these, the *tāḷvupaṟṟi* has not been met with in inscriptions, tradition or literature. It is also not possible to define his duties. The *potuvāḷs*, who are officials connected with almost all temples of Kēraḷa, were in charge of charitable endowments, and occasionally, as in Ayirūr and Mūḷikkaḷam, put in charge of the management of the temple. They attended to the collection of the income, and met the expenses of the deity for a settled remuneration in paddy or rice,

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1 Vide *TAS.*, vol. III. pp. 202 and 203, vol. IV, pp. 144-5. The temple itself was named "Taḷi" as in the case of the Kōṭṭayam and Kaḍatturutti temples (Cf. verses 11 and 31 of *Uttara Sandēśam* of *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, a poem of the 14th century A.C.), the Tṛkkulaśēkharapuram (cf. ins. No. 225 of 1895, Madras) Cingapuram, Kiṭṭōḷḷi (Kiḷtaḷi) and Calicut shrines of the same name. "*Taḷiyāḷvān*" is a compound of "*taḷi*" a temple and "*āḷvān*," a ruler, the word "*taḷi*" being derived from the Sanskrit "*sthali*."

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raw or cooked. These records mention two orders of *potuvāḷs*, the *akappotuvāḷs* and *puṛappotuvāḷs* (or merely *potuvāḷs*) which are now called respectively *Mūttatūs* (thread wearing) and the ordinary *Potuvāḷs* (of the *Ambalavāsi* caste).

The *Sēnāpati* entrusted with the military administration of Neḍumpurayūrnāḍu was, no doubt, subordinate to the *nāḍuvāḷi* of the same district, and was the president of the assembly or *kūṭṭam* of the *nāḍu*. In his absence, his place was taken by the *nāḍuvāḷi*, as in the case of the Kôtai Ravi record when Kōtai Ravi of Venpolinād was in temporary charge of the district. The office of the *Paṭanāyar* may have been generally hereditary but not irremovable. (In the inscriptions of Yā-Kô-Iraiyar, for instance, we find Kumaran Kumarādiccan figuring under successive *nāḍuvāḷis*, but being superseded by Iravi Kaṇṇappirān of Coṅṅiṛappaḷḷi in the regime of a new *nāḍuvāḷi*, Kandan Kumaran of Talaippulam).

The presence of the residents of the 18 districts was not considered indispensable for all meetings. Matters of minor importance could be settled by the *Taḷiyāḷvān* and his officers, in the presence, however, of the *Paṭanāyar*, the chairman of this committee of management, which in a sense formed the *Sthānattār* of similar South Indian inscriptions.

We do not possess adequate data to say definitely for what matters the consent or presence of the *patineṭṭu nāṭṭār* was deemed essential. But, on an examination of the records referred to above, this much can be safely advanced, viz., that their approval was indispensable for the receipt of gifts of lands endowed for the maintenance of different items of the temple services. (For instance, the Indu Kōtai inscription is concerned with the grant of lands in the Ukkiramaṅgalam village for the Aippigai and Chittirai festivals and with the details of expenditure of income accruing therefrom. The Bhāskara Ravi epigraph relates to the grant of lands by a lady for *Śāntivṛtti* etc. On the other hand, the Kōtai Ravi inscrption, in which the *patineṭṭunāṭṭār* is not stated to be present, merely settles doubts about the appropriation of incomes from different endowments for different purposes). Due to the damaged condition of Record No. 347, we are unable to infer whether the assembly's assent was required by the *potuvāḷ* for lending out gold on landed security and on condition of paying interest in paddy.

The interdiction of the *patineṭṭu nāṭṭār and Adhikārigaḷ*, (including the *potuvāḷmār*) from the collection of taxes (due to the *nāḍuvāḷi*

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presumably), may point to the fact that, besides the collective responsibility of villagers, the *potuvāḷs* (*puṟappotuvāḷs*), associated probably with one or two individuals selected by the *nāṭṭār*, were primarily responsible for the collection of taxes.[1]

The Yā-Ko-Irayar inscription shows that the president of the assembly, though a military official, did not unnecessarily interfere with the temple affairs, and, if he intervened, he did it with an iron hand and that only for the good of the people, by curbing the growing power of the exacting *Taḷiyāḷvān* and his followers. As the *Taḷiyāḷvān* had used his powers to aggrandise himself at the expense of the temple—no doubt with the connivance of the *Adhikārigaḷ* under him—the building and the properties of the temple were temporarily taken over by the *Paṭanāyar*. After settling the disputes concerning the Taḷi's management, and after seeing that things were getting easy, he returned the properties, and reinvested the *Taḷiyāḷvān* and his officers with their original powers. The solemnity of the transaction is indicated by the formality of the grant and the receipt of the transfer document signed by the *Paṭanāyar* himself.

The Indu Kōtai inscription is an instance where the assembly tried to provide against a possible refusal by the *Taḷiyāḷvān* to conduct the feeding on festival days. The *tāḷvupaṟṟi* and *potuvāḷ* were temporarily to advance the amount for the festivals by borrowing and to recoup themselves from the income set apart for them. If the manager objected, the rest of the assembly was to non-co-operate with him and to boycott him till he was brought round. If he still remained recalcitrant, the *taḷvupaṟṟi*, *akappotuvāḷ*, and *potuvāḷ* (*puṟappotuvāḷ*) were to meet the expenses.

From the undertaking—to maintain perpetual lamps by the supply of ghee—given by the people of different *dēśams* like Perumangād (8 lamps and one share of ghee), Perumpuṭṭūr (12 shares of ghee) Ciṟukōṭṭai and Iṭṭiyēkkāḍ,[2] it will not be too much to infer that each of these *dēśams* possessed some sort of corporate organisation to give expression to its common will.

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1 Vide *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. IV, Part I, p. 42. lines 258-61 and pp. 62-3, where it is stated that the income set apart for the expenses of the *aganāligai* or *sanctum* shall be collected by two members of the *Sabhā* (assembly) and the *puṟappotuvāḷ*.

2 Vide the Kōtai Ravi record.

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The assembly had the power to fine those of its members who broke the compacts entered into by it. A fine of 25 *kaḷañjūs* of gold was payable by each member of the *nāṭṭār* or officers (to the temple), for wrongfully collecting taxes from certain lands (No. 341). The abettors of the offender were sentenced to similar punishment, and they would not exercise any authority without paying up the fine. The committee of the *Taḷiyāḷvān* and his officers also bound themselves by similar pacts, as will be seen from the last part of the record dated the Kali year 4,030 (No. 343).

III—Economic etc.

The records reveal the temple assembly performing the functions of a bank, or better, a charitable trust. It received endowments of village lands for conducting festivals (No. 341), for the perpetual maintenance of lamps (No. 343), for the expenses of even a subordinate Devaswom like the Neḍumpura shrine (No. 346),[1] for the *Śāntivṛtti* (No. 348) etc. It recorded agreements from (the assemblies of) the *dēśakkār* of neighbouring *dēśams* to pay fixed shares of ghee for lighting temple lamps and for miscellaneous expenses, the shares being the *pāṭṭom* on lands leased out to them by the Nityavicārēśvaram assembly (No. 343). It (through its officers, especially the *potuvāḷ*) lent out gold on the security of landed property, the interest to be paid in paddy to the temple granary (No. 347).

The temple supported the *Taḷiyāḷvān*; his officers included the *potuvāḷ* and *tāḷvuparṛi*, the *śāntikkār*, the *Nambi*, the *Nagara Vāḷkkaiyān*, the *akampadippaṇimakkaḷ*, the *Cākyār* and a host of other attendants like the *kāṇan*, *oravian* etc.

It is indeed worthy of note that, *patineṭṭu nāṭṭār* had also to do a portion of labour. As stated in the Indu Kōtai inscription, the rice for the *Aippigai* and *Chittirai* Vishu festivals was to be cooked by them.

The rent on the temple lands was collected by the *potuvāḷs*, and they were mainly responsible for its disbursement, be it for feeding purposes or for the regular administration of the temple. Their difficulties must have been greatly reduced by the system of appropriating definite items of income from endowments for parti-

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1 Inscription No. 346 states that a piece of land in Kuvaḷa in Koṅṅiśśéri is set apart to meet the expenses of the Kulaśekhara idol, the principal deity of the Neḍumpura temple.

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cular purposes and the graded series of penalties imposed for non-payment or delay in payment of the *pāṭṭom* (Nos. 341). This must have, to some extent, provided also against misappropriation of temple funds.

These records throw some light on the weights and measures current in those days. For determination of weight, there was the *palam*. The standard *kôl* or balance was that of the "*Peruṃāḷ*" (god) of the temple. For measurement of solids and liquids there were the *kalam*, the *para*, the *edanagaḷi*, the half-measure, and different kinds of *nālis*. Of these, the *kalam* alone is now not in vogue. Weights of gold and other metals were calculated in *kaḷañjūs* and *kāṇams*.

These epigraphs mention different kinds of tenures like *virutti* and *ūṭṭom* for services done for the temple and for providing paddy for food. In case the *pāṭṭom* on the *ūṭṭom* land was not paid on the due date or double the quantity a month later, the land was liable to be transferred absolutly to another in perpetuity as an *aṭṭippēr*.

There remains to notice only the activities of the *Naṭṭuvan* or *Cākyār*, who, on festivals at least, must have expounded the *Purāṇas*, and afforded amusement as well as instruction to the audience. There was also the *Nangyār* for helping in the staging of the *Kūttu*, the indigenous theatrical performance of Kēraḷa.

It is also noteworthy in this connection, that in these records, we come across, for the first time, with such names as the *Kāntarpigaḷ*, the *oravian*, the *Nambi* of the *Nagara*, the *tāḷparṛi*, the *ariyūravan* and others. They also contain references to the *bhūtabali*, the *pantīra-ḍipūjā* and other kinds of worship of the deity.

Conclusion

Thus we find that these inscriptions form a fit subject for careful study from different aspects. Their dynastic importance in helping us to place some of the less known Kēraḷa monarchs in their historic setting, their constitutional interest in throwing valuable light on the working of the corporate bodies engaged in the task of local self-government, their economic value in affording us an insight into the part played by the temple in the ordering of the life of the country and other matters will be enough to show that they are of varied and absorbing interest.

GOVINDA WARIAK

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MISCELLANY

Notes on (1) Sunyata and (2) the Middle Path

In the first note, a fragment of the Bodhisattvabhūmi from the Cambridge Mss., the reader will see that, according to the Vijñānavādins, one cannot maintain *śūnyatā* without admitting that there is something void from another something. In the second note, a number of texts is quoted in order to show that the opinions I have ventured to express elsewhere concerning the Mādhyamika theories and the history of Buddhism in general (Hastings, E. R. E., Nirvāṇa ; Morale bouddhique) are not perfectly insane, as some of my best friends tell, write, and most probably believe too.

1. Śūnyatā

Bodhisattvabhūmi, Cambridge 1072, *fol.* 21*a*

yathā punaḥ ... ... rūpādikeṣu dharmeṣu vastumātram apy apavadamānaḥ sarvavaināśikaḥ praṇaṣṭo bhavaty asmād dharmavinayāt tathā pravakṣyāmi/rūpādīnāṃ dharmāṇāṃ vastumātram apavadamānasya naiva tattvaṃ nāpi prajñaptis tad-ubhayam etan na yujyate/ tad yathā satsu rūpādiṣu skandheṣu pudgalaprajñaptir yujyate nāsatsu [nir]vastukā pudgalaprajñaptiḥ/ evaṃ sati rūpādīnāṃ dharmāṇāṃ vastumātre rūpādidharmaprajñaptivādopacāro yujyate nāsati nirvastukaḥ prajñaptivādopacāraḥ[1]/ tatra ..... vastu nāstīti niradhiṣṭhānā prajñaptir api nāsti/ ato ya ekatyā durvijñānān sūtrāntān mahāyānapratisaṃyuktān gambhīrān śūnyatāpratisaṃyuktān ābhiprāyikārthanirūpitān cchrutvā yathābhūtaṃ bhāṣitasyārtham anabhijñāya ayoniśo vikalpya ayogavihitena tarkamātrakeṇa evaṃdṛṣṭayo bhavanty evaṃvādinaḥ "prajñaptimātram eva sarvam etat tattvam/ yaś caivaṃ paśyati sa samyak paśyati" iti teṣāṃ prajñaptyadhiṣṭhānasya vastumātrasyābhāvāt saiva prajñaptiḥ sarveṇa sarvaṃ na bhavati kutaḥ punaḥ prajñaptimātraṃ tattvaṃ bhaviṣyati/ tad anena paryāyeṇa tais tattvam

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1 Compare Triṃśikā, ed. S. Lévi, p. 16: upacārasya nirādhārasya asambhavāt.

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api prajñaptir api tad ubhayam apy āpāditaṃ bhavati/ tattvāpavādāc ca pradhānanāstiko veditavyaḥ/ sa evaṃ nāstikaḥ san na katthyo[1] bhavaty asaṃvāsyo vijñānāṃ sabrahmacāriṇām/ ātmānam api visaṃvādayati lokam api yo 'sya dṛṣṭyanumatam āpadyate/ idaṃ ca saṃdhāyoktaṃ bhagavatā/ varam ihaikatyasya pudgaladṛṣṭir na tv ekatyasya durgṛhītā śūnyateti[2]/ tat kasya hetoḥ/ pudgaladṛṣṭiko jantur jñeye kevalaṃ muhyen na tu sarvaṃ jñeyam apavadeta/ na tato nidānam apāyeṣūpapadyeta/ nāpi dharmārthikaṃ duḥkhavimokṣārthikaṃ paraṃ visaṃvādayen na vipralambhayed dharme satye ca pratiṣṭhāpayet/ na ca śaithiliko bhavec chikṣāpadeṣu/ durgṛhītayā punaḥ śūnyatayā jñeye vastuni muhyed apy apavadeta jñeyaṃ sarvam/ tannidānaṃ cāpāyeṣūpapadyeta/ dhārmikaṃ ca duḥkhavimokṣārthikaṃ paraṃ vipādayec chaithilikaś ca syāc chikṣāpadeṣu/ evaṃ bhūtaṃ vastv apavadamānaḥ praṇaṣṭo bhavaty asmād dharmavinayāt/

kathaṃ punar durgṛhītā bhavati śūnyatā/ yaḥ kaścic chramaṇo brāhmaṇo vā tac ca necchati yena śūnyaṃ tad (Ms. tam) api necchati yac chūnyam (Ms. ya śūnyam) iyam evaṃrūpā dugṛhītā śūnyatety ucyate/ tat kasya hetoḥ/ yena hi śūnyaṃ tadasadbhāvād yac ca śūnyaṃ tatsadbhāvāc chūnyatā yujyate / sarvābhāvāc ca kutra kiṃ kena śūnyaṃ bhaviṣyati/ na ca tena tasyaiva śūnyatā yujyate/ tasmād evaṃ durgṛhītā śūnyatā bhavati/

kathaṃ ca punaḥ sugṛhītā śūnyatā bhavati/ yataś ca yad yatra na bhavati tat tena śūnyam iti samanupaśyati yat punar atrāvaśiṣṭaṃ bhavati tat sad ihāsti iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti iyam ucyate śūnyatāvakrāntir yathābhūtā aviparītā// tad yathā rūpādisaṃjñake yathānirdiṣṭe vastuni rūpam ity evamādiprajñaptivādātmako dharmo nāsty atas tad rū[pādi ... ... rūpādiprajña]ptivādātmanā śūnyam / kiṃ punas tatra rūpādisaṃjñake vastuny avaśiṣṭam/ yad "etad[3] eva rūpam" ity evamādiprajñapter āśrayaḥ/ prajñaptivādanimittamātrakaṃ ca (?) tac cobhayaṃ yathābhūtaṃ yaṇ prajānāti yad [..... na] cāsadbhūtaṃ samāropayati na bhūtam apavadate nādhikaṃ karoti na nyūnīkaroti notkṣipati na prakṣipati yathābhūtaṃ ca tathatāṃ nirabhilāpyasvabhāvatāṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti iyam ucyate sugṛhītā [śūnyatā .....] vad upapatti-

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1 Doubtful reading. According to Chinese, the meaning is 'not to be spoken to.'

2 See Kāśyapaparivarta, ed. Staël-Holstein, p. 95: varaṃ khalu punaḥ kāśyapa sumerumātrā pudgaladṛṣṭiḥ.....

3 Ms. yad u tad.

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sādhanayuktir ānulomikī yayā nirabhilāpyasvabhāvatā sarvadharmāṇām pratyavagantavyā/

āptāgamato 'pi nirabhilāpyasvabhāvāḥ sarvadharmā veditavyāḥ/ yathoktaṃ bhagavatā eta [..... Bha] vasaṃkrāntisūtre

yena yena hi nāmnā vai yo yo dharmo 'bhilapyate/
na sa saṃvidyate tatra dharmāṇāṃ sā hi dharmatā/

(Then follows A partly illegible commentary on this Gāthā)

uktaṃ ca bhagavatā Arthavargīyeṣu/
yāḥ kāś ca na saṃvṛtayo hi loke sarvā hi tā munir nopaiti/
a [nupagaḥ saḥ kenopādadīta dṛṣṭe śrute kān]tim asamprakurvan//[1]

katham iyaṃ gāthā etam evārthaṃ paridīpayati/ rūpādisaṃjñike vastuni yā rūpam ity evamādayaḥ prajñaptayas tāḥ saṃvṛtaya ity ucyante/ tābhiḥ prajñaptibhis tasya vastunas tādā[tmyam ity evaṃ nopaiti/ teṣāṃ saṃvṛtibhāvāt/ tat kasmād] hetoḥ/ samāropāpavādikā dṛṣṭir asya nāsty ato 'sau tasyā viparyāsapratyupasthānāyā dṛster abhāvād anupaga ity ucyate/ sa evam anupagas tat kenopādadīta dṛṣṭyā vinā tadvastusamāropa[m apavādaṃ vā/ upādānābhāve samya]gdarśī bhavati jñeye/ tad asya dṛṣṭam/ yas tasyaiva jñeyasyābhilāpānuśravas tad asya śrutam tasmin dṛṣṭaśrute tṛṣṇāṃ notpādayati na vivardhayati nānyatra tenālambanena prajahāti upekṣakaś ca viharati/ kāntim [na samprakaroti].

[Then follows the Sūtra quoted below p. 168].

Although there is a sect named Prajñaptivādin, we have some reasons to believe that the Sarvavaināśika of our author is Bhavaviveka, or the Mādhyamika who maintains the views known as Bhavaviveka's views. Bhavaviveka, Nanjio, 1237 (Tokio, xix, 5, fol. 62 b, l. 5) attacks the Yogācāra and he attributes to his opponent a formula which, despite its intricate Chinese dress, seems to be a rendering of the sentence in the Bodhisattvabhūmi: *yad yatra na bhavati tat tena śūnyam/ yat punar atrāvaśiṣṭaṃ tat sat* = "A is said to be empty with reference to B when B is not in A; but what remains (that is A)

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1 The second pāda is clearly irregular—Pāli recension, Suttanipāta, Aṭṭhakavagga, 897:

yā kāc' imā sammutiyo puthujjā sabbā va etā na upeti vidvā/
anūpayo so upayaṃ kim eyya diṭṭhe sute khantim akubbamāno//

See Mahāniddesa, pp. 308f.

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exists." Again, *tac ca necchati yena śūnyam tad api necchati yac chūnyam.* The Chinese version has :

由彼故空彼實是無。
依此故空此實是有。

The Sanskrit rendering of this would be something like: *Yena śūnyaṃ tad dravyato nāsti/ yasmin* (*yasya, yatra*) *śūnyatā tad dravyato 'sti.*

2. The Middle Path.—The right meditation.

Kāśyapparivarta,[1] ed. Staël-Holstein, p. 86 (compare Madhyamakavṛtti, pp. 270, 358, Bhavaviveka, Nanjio, 1237, Tokyo, xix, 5,65b-66a).

nityam iti Kāśyapa ayam eko 'ntaḥ/ anityam iti Kāśyapa ayaṃ dvitīyo 'ntaḥ/ yad etayor dvayor madhyaṃ tad arūpi anidarśanam anābhāsam avijñaptikam apratiṣṭham aniketam/ iyam ucyate Kāśyapa madhyamā pratipad dharmāṇāṃ bhūtapratyavekṣā.

Bhavaviveka explains the expressions *arūpi*, etc.; he quotes both Kāśyapa and Prajñā where a number of *antas* is rejected (nitya, anitya, sukha, duḥkha, ātman, anātman, śānta (?), aśānta, śūnya, aśūnya, sanimitta, animitta, praṇihita, apraṇihita, dūra, adūra). The list of *antas* is different in Kāśyapa; it ends with

astīti Kāśyapa ayam eko 'ntaḥ/ nāstīti Kāśyapa ayaṃ dvitīyo 'ntaḥ.

Both Mādhyamikas and Yogācāras are "followers of the middle path"; but how the middle path between *asti* and *nāsti*, between *śūnya* and *aśūnya* is to be understood ?

Candrakīrti (Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 274) explains and refutes the doctrine of the Yogācāras who maintain the *trilakṣaṇavāda* (parikalpita, paratantra, pariniṣpanna) or *dharmalakṣaṇavāda.*[2] They admit the existence (*astitva*) of the *paratantra* (the continuous series of

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1 Kāśyapa was known through numerous quotations. But the recent edition of this text (Sanskrit, Tibetan, four Chinese versions) by Baron von Staël-Holstein is one of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship.

2 Also Vijñānavāda, Vijñaptimātratāvāda.

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citta-caittas, which are pratītyasamutpanna) and deny the existence of the *parikalpita* (citta and caittas as they are imagined by *sāsravajñāna*).[1]

Yas tu paratantracittacaittavastumātram abhyupetya tasya parikalpitasvabhāvābhāvād astitvadarśanaṃ pariharati/ saṃkleśavyavadānanibandhanasya ca paratantravastumātrasya sadbhāvān nāstitvadarśanaṃ pariharati/ tasya parikalpitasyāvidyamānatvāt paratantrasya ca vidyamānatvād astitvanāstitvadarśanadvayasyāpy upanipātāt kuto 'ntadvayaparihāraḥ/ hetupratyayajanitasya ca sasvabhāvena ayuktatvapratipādanād ayuktam evāsya vyākhyānam/ tad evaṃ madhyamakadarśana evāstitvanāstitvadarśanasyāprasaṅgo na vijñānavādidarśanādiṣu.

But the Master who admits the "réalité sans plus"[2] of citta-caittas which are produced by causes (*paratantra*), who avoids *astitvadarśana* by denying that this "réalité" possesses the *parikalpita*-nature, who, on the other hand, because he admits the real existence of this "réalitè sans plus" which is the principle of saṃkleśa and vyavadāna,believes he avoids the *nāstitvadarśana*; this Master does, in fact, by denying *parikalpita* and maintaining *paratantra*, fall into the double *anta* of *nāstitva* and *astitva*: he is far from the middle path! Again, as we have established that things produced by causes cannot be produced as "choses en soi," his exegesis is wrong. Therefore the Madhyamaka-doctrine alone avoids the views of *astitva* and *nāstitva*, not the Vijñānavādin-doctrine, etc.

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1 These are branches of the school denying also thé pāramārthika existence of the paratantra.

2 Or "la réalité nue," "le fait d'être quelque chose," a something free from any characteristic.—*Citta* and *caittas* are produced by causes (*paratantra*). Wrong knowledge attributes to them a number of marks (sukha, etc.), id est a nature which does not belong to them (*parikalpitasvabhāva*). If we expel all these marks, there remains a substratum, "a pure to be," which is their real or *pariniṣpanna* nature. Names are many, *bhūtatathatā*, *cittamātratā*, *vastumātraśūnyatā*, etc. But it is, in fact, *anabhilāpya* "ineffable," because it is *atarkya* and to be known by *avikalpakajñāna*. It would be a most mischievous mistake to compare it to the "chose en soi" of Kant, for it is "knowable" (*jñeya*). It is by the perfect intuition of the Tathatā that the Buddhas become Buddhas.

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How do the Mādhyamikas avoid the two *antas*?[1] Of course (*pace* Rosemberg, Stcherbatsky and some others) Candrakīrti, Bhavaviveka, the redactor of Hastikakṣya and Nāgārjuna himself (according to a branch of the Mādhyamikas) ignore or deny the *tathatā* (tathāgato hi pratibimbabhūtaḥ/ kuśalasya dharmasya anāsravasya/ naivātra tathatā na tathāgato 'sti/ bimbaṃ ca saṃdṛśyate sarvaloke//—Vṛtti, p. 449). They do not admit a *śūnyatā* by which the *dharmas* would be *śūnya* (Kāśyapaparivarta, p. 94); they say: *śūnyā eva dharmāḥ*. [Things (dharmas) are void, they are not born.....*śūnya*=*pratītyasamutpanna*].

Are they not to be styled *nāstika*, *sarvavaināśika*? Not so. Candrakīrti (p. 273) says: nanu ca "bhāvānāṃ svabhāvo nāsti" ity abhyupagacchato mā bhūd bhāvadarśanābhāvāc chāśvatadarśanam/ ucchedadarśanaṃ tu niyataṃ prasajyata iti// naivam abhāvadarśanaṃ bhavati/ yo hi pūrvaṃ bhāvasvabhāvam abhyupetya paścāt tannivṛttim ālambate tasya pūrvopalabdhasvabhāvāpavādāt syād abhāvadarśanam/ yas tu taimirikopalabdhakeśeṣv iva vaitimiriko na kiṃ cid upalabhate sa nāstīti bruvan kiṃ nāstīti brūyāt pratiṣedhyābhāvāt/ viparyastānāṃ tu mithyābhiniveśanivṛttyartham ataimirikā iva vayaṃ brūmo na santi sarve bhāvā iti/ na caivaṃ bruvatām asmākaṃ parahitavyāpāraparāyaṇānām ucchedadarśanaprasaṅgaḥ.

The truth is silence. Just as a man of normal sight does not see the fanciful images that are seen by a man who suffers from opthalmia, and does not think that these images are or are not, in the same way, the Mādhyamika does not "perceive", "apprehend" anything. Therefore there does not exist for him anything which could be denied. Dozens of texts could be quoted to the same effect. One of the most significant, and one which states and solves the problem in practical terms, is Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 33-35:

śūnyatāvāsanādhānād dhīyate bhāvavāsanā/
kiṃcin nāstīti cābhyāsāt sāpi paścāt prahīyate//
yadā na labhyate bhāvo yo nāstīti prakalpyate/
tadā nirāśrayo 'bhāvaḥ kathaṃ tiṣṭhen mateḥ puraḥ//

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1 The reader will not find here an answer to this question. I shall only explain the meaning of the texts I have read (Madhyamakavṛtti, Nanjio 1237, Bodhicaryāvatāraṭīkā). As regards Nāgārjuna, it is evident that Asaṅga (Nanjio, 1246, a commentary to the first kārikā of Madhyamakaśāstra, see Tucci, Studi Mahāyānici, p. 523) does not agree with Candrakīrti.

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yadā na bhāvo nābhāvo mateḥ saṃtiṣṭhate puraḥ/
tadānyagatyabhāvena nirālambā praśāmyati//

The idea of existence, with its traces in the mind, disappears from the mind when the mind has been impregnated with the idea of vacuity. Later, this very idea disappears through the habit of looking at things as void. Given that existence ceases to be perceived, the idea of non-existence cannot continue for a long time to appear to the mind. When neither existence nor non-existence is present to the mind, then the mind, having no support whatever, becomes calm.

The Yogācāra-Vijñānavādins believe that there is a supreme and transcendent reality. The opposition between them and the Mādhyamikas is well illustrated by the conflicting exegesis of the terms *kleśāvaraṇa jñeyāvaraṇa*. According to Vasubandhu, Sthiramati and Dharmapāla,[1] who admit a *jñeya*, a "knowable," *jñeyāvaraṇam = yaj jñeyam āvṛṇoti*, the obstacles that prohibit the vision of *jñeya* (= *tathatā*), that is to say, the Bodhi. While, according to the commentator of Śāntideva, the *jñeya*—because it is samāropitarūpa "to be admitted as existing,"—is *āvaraṇa*: Kleśā evāvṛtir jñeyaṃ ca āvṛtir āvaraṇam/ jñeyam eva samāropitarūpatvād āvṛtiḥ (Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 55).

Nevertheless, the Vijñānavādins practically agree with the Mādhyamikas. Their *tathatā*, their *cittamātratā* is useful (they say) for the expulsion of passions and ideas. But to look at *tathatā* is antagonistic to residing in *tathatā*, because it is to place something before oneself: sthāpayann agrataḥ kiṃ cit tanmātre nāvatiṣṭhate (Triṃśikā, ed. S. Lévi, p. 42),

The two great schools of later Buddhism are, therefore, despite the "rationalistic" character of Madhyamaka and the constructive 'speculation of Vijñānavāda', faithful to the early Indian Yoga as preserved in the Pāli Scriptures.

The right meditation, the only way to the actual perception of Nirvāṇa by *nirodhasamāpatti*, is the "méditation sans contenu." This meditation is clearly illustrated—for it cannot be described—in Aṅguttaranikāya, v, p. 323. The Sanskrit rendering of this Sūtra is quoted in the Bodhisattvabhūmi in order to establish the transcendent

1 Triṃśikā, p. 15.

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reality, and by Bhavaviveka in order to enforce his rather nihilistic doctrine.[1]

[uktaṃ ca bhagavatā Sāntvam[2] Kātyāyanīpu]tram ārabhya/ iha Sāntva bhikṣur na pṛthivīṃ niśritya dhyāyati nāpo na tejo na vāyuṃ nākāśa-vijñānākiṃcanya naiva saṃjñā nā saṃjñāyatanaṃ nemaṃ lokaṃ nāparaṃ nobhau sūryācandramasau na dṛṣṭaśruta(mata)vijñātaṃ prāptaṃ [paryeṣitam anuvicaritaṃ manasā] tat sarvaṃ na niśritya dhyāyati/ kathaṃ dhyāyī pṛthivīṃ na niśritya dhyāyati vistareṇa yāvat sarvaṃ na niśritya dhyāyati/ iha Sāntva bhikṣor yā pṛthivyāṃ pṛthivīsaṃjñā sā vibhutā bhavati apsu apsaṃjñā vistare[ṇa yāvat ..... vibhutā] bhavati/ evaṃ dhyāyī bhikṣur na pṛthivīṃ niśritya dhyāyati vistareṇa yāvan na sarvaṃ sarvam iti niśritya dhyāyati / evaṃdhyāyinaṃ bhikṣuṃ sendrā devāḥ seśānāḥ saprajāpatayāḥ ārān namasyanti.

namas te [puruṣājanya[3] namas te puruṣottama /
yasya te nābhijānāmaḥ][4] kiṃ tvam niśritya dhyāyasi //

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

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1 The third āgama in the discussion above p. 163 ; Bhavaviveka, Tokio, xix, 5, fol. 66a.

2 Ms. saṃttha ; Aṅguttara, V, p. 323, sandha and saddha; Tibetan: sdums byed ka ta ḷi bu.

3 Mahāvastu, i, p. 608.

4 Aṅguttara : yassa tenābhijānāma (p. 325, twice, p. 326, once) yaṃ pi nissāya jhāyasi.

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To the East of Samatata

In 1912 an incomplete set of copper-plates containing the record of a grant by Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa during the first half of the seventh century A.C., was discovered at Nidhanpur in the Pañcakhaṇḍa Parganā of Sylhet. A point was raised whether or not Sylhet formed a part of Kāmarūpa at the time of Bhāskaravarman. While publishing the inscriptions, I tried to prove that Sylhet was not included in Kāmarūpa and one of the reasons I advanced was that Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo, which had been identified with Sylhet (Śrīhaṭṭa) by Indian antiquarians, was separately mentioned as a country not visited by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who, however, visited Kāmarūpa during the reign of this very king Bhāskaravarman.[1]

On this occasion I consulted Watters' Yuan Chwang, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, with maps and itinerary by Dr. V. A. Smith. There I found that Watters objected to change the locality of Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo from N. E. of Samataṭa (as recorded by Yuan Chwang himself) to S. E. of that kingdom (as had been proposed by some other editors of the work) and the place was identified by him as the Tipperah District[2], which identification was supported by Dr. V. A. Smith.[3] I saw that this identification went very near Sylhet which, as I have already stated, had always been looked upon as Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo by the Indian savants.

This encouraged me to examine the localities of the other five kingdoms and in my first article "To the East of Samataṭa," I tried to demonstrate that (1) Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo was Sylhet (Śrīhaṭṭa); (2) Ka-mo-lang-ka was the modern Tipperah District with Comilla as its head-quarters; (3) To-lo-po-ti (or Tu-ho-lo po-ti) was the Tipperah State; (4) I-shang-na-pu-lo was the Manipur State, which had Viṣṇupur as its former Capital; (5) Mo-ha-chan-p'o was the locality near Bhamo in northern Burma which had Sampenago as its whilom Capital; and Yen-mo-na-chou was Tampadeepa in the south-west of Mo-ha-chan-p'o.[4]

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1 Vide my article in the Epigraphia Indica, vol. xii, no. 13, pp. 65f.

2 Vide Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. ii, pp. 187f.

3 Ibid., p. 340.

4 Vide my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January 1920, pp. 1-19.

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Not knowing Chinese in which the original records are written, and French in which the journals and books relating to researches in Indo-China are generally published, I proceeded with great care and caution and sent the manuscript of my article to Dr. V. A. Smith who was then living. He accepted my identifications.

M. L. Finot, the distinguished French antiquarian of Indo-China, published an article headed "Hiuan Tsang and the Far East," adversely criticising my article, in the same Journal, October, 1920. I wrote a reply to his criticisms and had it published as the second article under the same heading ('To the East of Samataṭa') in the Hindustan Review, July, 1924. *M.* Finot has come up again with an article, this time with a different heading—"Indo-China in the Records of Chinese Pilgrims", (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, no. 2) wherein he has written a rejoinder to my second article.

The present article which is the third with the same heading is an attempt to meet the great antiquarian's arguments.

M. Finot has raised a side issue : he objects to the spelling of the Chinese traveller's name as "Yuan Chwang," and says it should be "Hiuan (or Hsüan) Tsang." The alternative (Hiuan or Hsüan) shows indecision on his part. In fact, it is very difficult to transliterate Chinese names ; our tongue fails to pronounce 'hs' and 'ts.' I adopted "Yuan Chwang" after consulting Watters' book, which I considered to be correct as it was published under the authority of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the present article also I stick to it. I think, however, we need not trouble much about the spelling of a name that cannot be put in any other language than Chinese with absolute correctness.

Now to the main issue, namely, the identification of the six countries heard of, but not visited, by the Chinese pilgrim. He came to India to know its people and places and to learn the scriptures. That he took care to take down notes of the six countries which he could not visit shows that the places belonged to India or to a region very near to India of which he had no previous knowledge. The south-eastern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula was already known to the Chinese people, as that region was very near and at the same time easily accessible to them, especially by the sea route. It is, therefore, quite probable that these six countries were Śrīhaṭṭa, Kamalāṅka (Kāmlāk), Tipperah State, Manipur State, Northern Burma and South-Western Burma, which together formed a complete circle :

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and not Prome, Tenasserim (or Malay Peninsula), Siam, Cambodia, Annam and Yamunādvīpa (that has defied identification) that together made a parabolic curve, so to speak, ending in an unknown region, a point noted in both my previous articles,[1] but passed over by the learned critic.

Another point in my second article[2] was that I-tsing had visited none of the (six) countries mentioned by Yuan Chwang with the solitary exception of Shih-li-ch'a ta-lo which was spelt exactly alike by both the Chinese travellers; and in my first article[3] I showed that Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo of I-tsing must be Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and not Prome: but *M.* Finot, without sifting my arguments on the point, persists in identifying I-tsing's Lankasu, Shehopati (or Javapati), Pohnan (or Funan) and Lini with Yuan Chwang's Ka-mo-lang-ka, To-lo-po-ti, I-shang-na-pu-lo and Mo-ha-chan-p'o respectively, only to make confusion worse confounded.

I shall now proceed to deal with the countries one by one and, to meet *M.* Finot's arguments, shall in this article follow his order of enumeration. He has begun with Campā—his sheet-anchor. In his previous article, he was indignant that any other place than Annam should have gone by the name of Campā. This Annam is called Lin-i, which is the Chinese equivalent of Campā; and *M.* Finot says that "the name Lin-i was never used by the Chinese for another State than Campā on the Annamese coast and by no ingenuity could it be located elsewhere".[4] *M.* Finot perhaps would have held a different view, if he had looked up the derivation of Lin-i. In the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Hemacandra Sūri gives the synonyms of the then celebrated towns of India and writes about Campā as follows:

Campā tu Mālinī—Lomapāda-Karṇayoḥ pūḥ.

i.e. Campā, Mālinī, Lomapādapūḥ and Karṇapūḥ (pūḥ=city) are the four names of the whilom capital of Aṅga. The Campā of Annam as a Colony inherited the synonyms of its mother City, and Lini is either Mālini, shorn of the first syllable (mā), or is derived from

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1 JRAS., January 1920, p. 18; and Hindustan Review, July 1924, p. 445.

2 Hindustan Review, July 1924, pp. 445-446.

3 Vide JRAS., January 1920, p. 6, footnote 2.

4 JRAS., October 1920, p. 450.

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'Lomapāda (Annamese Lömöp, Chinese Lin-i).[1] Hence wherever a colonial town or state bore the name of Campā, it would, in imitation of the mother City (or state), be called Lin-i by the Chinese; also, Mahā Campā (differentiated by 'Mahā' from the Annamese as well as the mother Campā in Behar) might be termed "the Lin-i of the Chinese",[2] and yet need not be the Annamese Campā. Dr. Takakusu of course locates I-tsing's Lini (as well as Mahā Campā of Yuan Chwang) in Annam; and in this he has only acquiesced in the hitherto established view of the Occidental Orientalists; but he has not said, as *M.* Finot does, that Lin-i or even Campā was a name of Annam.[3]

The next is I-shang-na-pu-lo—rendered Īśānapura, hitherto identified with Cambodia, because Īśānavarman ascended the throne of Cambodia about 600 A.C., and, "dwelt in the town of Īśhöna" says the Sueishu. Before that, the country was called Śreṣṭhapura and ruled by Śreṣṭhavarman, and Bhavapura when ruled over by Bhavavarman: so the custom apparently was that a king as soon as he ascended the throne used to give his name to the capital or to found a new capital after his name; and as soon as he died, a new king would come in and do the same. From Dr. Takakusu's notes[4] we learn that Īśānavarman conquered and took Funan (Eastern Siam) by 627 and that he was reputed as an enemy of Buddhism. From another account, however, we gather that Buddhism was introduced in Siam in 638 A.C. We may infer that when Yuan Chwang was taking note of the six countries on his way back from Samataṭa, which he visited by the year 643 A.C., i.e., almost at the conclusion of his sojourn in India, Īśānavarman, and with him his capital, as was the custom, was no more. It must therefore be proved that Īśānapura existed even after the demise of its founder, before the identification is accepted. I-tsing, writing of the place only a few years later, called it 'Funan' and not Īśānapura.

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1 Vide Col. Gerini's Researches on Ptolemy's Geography, pp. 235 et seq.

2 Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. ii, p. 188, ll. 2-3.

3 This is why I said in my second article that Dr. Takakusu "does not make the same allegation as put forward by *M.* Finot," which *M.* Finot condemns as inaccurate (vide IHQ., vol. 11, no. 2, p. 254, footnote 2.)

4 Takakusu's I-tsing, pp. li-lii, footnote.

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Moreover, if I-shang-na-pu-lo of Yuan Chwang was the same as this 'Īshöna (without "pura") of the Sueishu, then the wordings would not have been different and the same place would have been spelt and named alike, as was 'Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo' by Yuan Chwang and I-tsing.

Then comes To-lo-po-ti. According to Yuang Chwang this was west of I-shang-na-pu-lo. *M.* Finot, interpreting 'To-lo-po-ti as 'Dvārāvatī,'[1] said in his first article: "To-lo-po-ti has not yet been located so definitely and nothing proves that Dvārāvatī occupied formerly the exact site of Ayodhyā; it may have been situated either in the neighbourhood of Ayodhyā, as Gerini thought, or at Lophburi as Pelliot suggested. * * * * * What alone interests us is the question whether Dvārāvatī corresponds roughly to Lower Siam and this fact is attested by the Old History of T'ang according to which the 'Water-Tchenla', i.e., Lower Cambodia, is bordered on the west by To-lo-po-ti."[2] In reply I wrote in my second article as follows: "If by Lower Cambodia is meant the southern half of Cambodia as represented in a modern Atlas, we find neither Ayodhyā nor Lophburi on the west or even north-west; and the western boundary is a sea rather than any land at all; even if what has been quoted by *M.* Pelliot from the Old History of T'ang is considered as authentic, I shall state here that there were many Dvārāvatīs in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula as was already stated by me in the previous article. Moreover, in order to establish that this To-lo-po-ti was what was mentioned by Yuan Chwang, it must be definitely localized and shown to have existed during the earlier half of the 7th century."[3] *M.* Finot, in his second article, takes no notice of this but now defines Lower Cambodia as the region lying south of Dongrek Mounts, which, in the modern Atlas, are the northern boundary of the whole of Cambodia. At any rate, if the whilom Cambodia extended considerably further north of these Dongrek Mounts, it ought to have been clearly stated and proved. No rejoinder has till now been vouchsafed to the latter part of my remarks. I should state here, that Yuan Chwang, who took

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1 "But the characters seem to stand for Tālāpati, that is, Mahādeva"—Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. ii, p. 189. It also was recorded as Tu (or She)-ho-lo-po-ti (vide Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. ii, p. 189, footnote 3. Also M. Finot's article I. H. Q., vol. ii, no. 2, p. 261).

2 JRAS., October 1920, pp. 450f.

3 Hindustan Review, July 1924, p. 444.

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care to say that Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo and Ka-mo-lang-ka were on a sea and a bay respectively, did not even mention that I-shang-na pu-lo and To-lo-po-ti were countries bordering on a sea or a gulf, though their alleged modern substitutes are so situated.[1]

The next country dealt with is Ka-mo-lang-ka. The attempt of the Orientalists to identify it with a region in the Indo-Chinese peninsula has an interesting history, of its own. Formerly it was identified with "Pegu and the delta of the Irāvatī."[2] As a result of this identification Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo, the alleged Prome, became quite inland, and Ka-mo-lang-ka south rather than sout-east of Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo, and To-lo-po-ti (alleged to be Ayodhyā, lower Menum) south-east rather than east of Ka-mo-lang-ka. Then the position of Ka-mo-lang-ka was pushed further down and identified with Tenasserim.[3] This made Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo (Prome) approach the sea below and put Ka-mo-lang-ka to the south-east rather than south of Shih-li-ch'a-ta lo and To-lo-po-ti to the east of Ka-mo-lang-ka fulfilling all the details of Yuan Chwang's description. But now Ka-mo-lang-ka is pushed further down and identified with a portion of Malayan Peninsula ;[4] and To-lo-po-ti becomes more north-east than east in which side there is a gulf (the Gulf of Siam). And all this on the supposition that Yuan Chwang's Ka-mo-lang-ka is the same as I-tsing's Lankasu. The matter reaches the climax when a scholar like *M.* Sylvain Lévi, in his work on "Austro-Asiatic" elements in the Indian names of places, explains the first part of the name as Austro-Asiatic pré-formante Kām which is to be found again in Kāmarūpa, Kāmboja etc. "But," adds *M.* Finot quite pertinently "there still remains to be explained why in this particular case pré-formante Kām has separated from the organic element Lanka."[5]

M. Finot sums up thus: "If, therefore, it is likely that 'Ka-mo-lang-ka' and 'Langkiasu' are the same place, that is not quite certain; and should the Kāmalak-nagar, of which *M.* Vidyavinod finds

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1 Tripurā and Maṇipur States are, as is well-known, inland countries.

2 Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. ii, p. 189.

3 JRAS., October 1920 no. p. 447 and also I.H.Q., vol. ii, 2, p. 256 (*M.* Pelliot's view).

4 Vide IHQ., vol. ii, no. 2, p. 256, (*M.* Ferrand's and *M.* Cœdes' views).

5 IHQ., vol. ii, no. 2, p. 257. We know for certain that in Kāmarūpa, Kāma has nothing of 'Austro-Asiatic pré-formante' in it.

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traces in the vicinity of Comilla, finally turn up to have been a state of some importance, it would be possible to look there for the Ka-mo-long-ka of Hiuan-tsang. However it is so far a mere name which gives but scanty ground for an identification."[1]

I am grateful to *M.* Finot even for this and must reiterate here what I stated in conclusion to my first article: "the region with which we have concerned ourselves here is as yet a virgin field for research; and if this our humble writing serves to invite the attention of the veteran antiquarians to work in this field, we should think ourselves amply rewarded."[2]

The next in *M.* Finot's order is Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo. In order to identify it with Prome, the antiquarians are pleased to change N. E. in Yuan Chwang to S. E. Human beings are no doubt liable to errors and the Chinese pilgrim was no exception: *M.* Finot has in his last article instanced one or two. The present case, however, is quite different. Watters, knowing fully well that N. E. was considered as a mistake by several antiquarians, says that north-east "is the reading of all the texts, of the 'Life,' and of the 'Fang-chih'."[3] Moreover, it is improbable that there should be a mistake, at the very outset, in taking notes of certain countries not visited by the pilgrim. In this case, therefore, the alteration is gratuitous, since, on the north-east, quite in contiguity of Samataṭa, there was a place "Śrī-haṭṭa" which as reported to and heard by the pilgrim was reproduced as 'Shih-li-ch'a-ṭa-lo.[4]

One of the grounds of Prome being not on the sea has now been removed by pushing it southwards so as to include the delta of Irāvatī

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1 IHQ., vol.ii, no. 2, p.257. The dispassionate readers, who would carefully go through my arguments (JRAS., January 1920, pp. 7-9) will not however think it a 'mere name' but will see that traces of a state (Karmanta) of some importance have already been found there which of course require further investigation.

2 JRAS., January 1920, p. 19.

3 Watters' Yuan Chwang. vol. ii, pp. 188-189.

4 *M.* Finot in a footnote (IHQ., vol. ii, no. 2, p. 259) says that this identification was made by Vivien de Saint Martin long before me. I do not claim any originality ; in fact, as I have already stated, more than one Indian antiquarian had said so. Only I have taken upon myself the task of demonstrating what has been a mere assertion heretofore.

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that had so long been cosidered as part of Ka-mo-lang-ka. I mention this here for what it is worth. As regards another ground, viz., that the kingdom of Tharekhettara (=Śrīkṣetra=the alleged Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo) became extinct in 95 A.C., long before Yuan Chwang took note of the six kingdoms, *M.* Finot, who, in his first article stated that the above date occurs in the "Native Chronicles" whose records are of no value whatever, now brings forth "the highest authority of Burmese history" to support his own remarks. But unfortunately this authority has not helped him much ; for he says "I am inclined to place the fall of Prome between the 5th and the 6th century".[1] Now, Yuan Chwang took note of Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo in the middle of the 7th century—about two centuries after the fall of what is now alleged to have been Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo.[2]

M. Finot has also stated that Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo "located at Sylhet was cut out from the sea by that of Kamalanka."[3] I think I have said enough about this matter in both of my previous articles: the mention of "Sāgara" and "Nauvāṭaka" is found in copper-plates of Sylhet.[4]

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1 I H Q., vol. ii, no. 2. In p. 259, footnote 2, *M.* Finot quotes G. E. Harvy's History of Burma where it is stated that "Prome was overthrown probably not long after A.C. 800." This however goes against the opinion of the "highest authority on the Burmese History" and so has been assigned a place in the footnote. It may however refer to a subsequent kingdom founded there.

2 I notice that *M.* Finot has quoted a saying of mine to apply it against me: I said "surely Prome was not left without any ruler after the extinction of the Tharekhettara kingdom." "All right," says *M.* Finot, "but why should not these new rulers have preserved the old name of Śrīkṣetra" ? This is however the course of the world—"The old order changeth yielding place to new." Otherwise, we should have still to use the name 'Tharekhattara' in lieu of 'Prome', and 'Campā' in lieu of 'Indo China.'

3 I H Q., vol. ii, no.

4 Recently my attention has been drawn to a verse in Jayānanda's "Caitanyamaṅgala", an old book on the life of Śrī Caitanya, wherein a description of a place in Sylhet (the birth-place of Caitanya's mother's father) is written: paścimete ḍhol samudra (a sea in the west). Jayānanda's Caitanyamaṅgala (Sāhityaparisad's edition), p. 8.

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The reminiscence of the Sāgara is still left in the word "hāor" in the district ; and an Englishman had to use compass as in a sea in his journey from Dacca to Sylhet : all this took place at a time far posterior to Yuan Chwang's visit. As to Kamalanka, I stated that "the Brahmaputra had its old channel terminated at a point which was then on the north-western boundary of old Tipperah and possibly this was then the head of an estuary that looked like a bay."[1]

If *M.* Finot looks to the geography of Dacca, Mymensingh, Sylhet and Tipperah, and compares Rennel's Map prepared a little over a century ago with the recent Survey maps, I am sure he will be impressed with the rapid changes in the configuration of this part of Bengal and also with the validity of my contention.

M. Finot has, last of all, dealt with Yen-mo-na-chou. 'Chou' means an island, a dvīpa; but what should 'Yen-mo-na' be has hitherto baffled the efforts of the antiquarians. 'Yen' is 'Jam' (cf. Jambu = Yenfo. So Yen-mo-na may be Jamuna. In searching for a word that ends in 'dvīpa', I find that 'Tambadvīpa'[2] is the very locality where, according to my theory, this last of the six kingdoms must have been situated. I consider this Tambadvīpa = the 'Tampadvīpa' of Mr. Taw Sein Ko[3] to be a corrupted Burmese form of Jambudvīpa (for Jamunadvīpa has no meaning). That Yuan Chwang wrote 'Yen-mo-na' was due probably either to the wrong (dialectic) pronunciation of his informer[4] or to the Chinese pilgrim's disbelief in the existence of a Jambudvīpa in that quarter.

Knowing the meaning and extent of "Jambudvīpa", I have no hesitation in agreeing with *M.* Finot that the Burmese knew its

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1 JRAS., January 1920, p. 8.

2 Owing probably to a mistake in the copy of the extracts from the Northern Burma Gazetteer that I had, Tamba was written by me as 'Tambu' which *M.* Finot has taken as a quiet change consciously made by me. The mistake was in a manner pointed out but not exactly corrected by Mr. Taw Sein Ko of the Archæological Department, Burma (vide JRAS., Jany. 1920., p. 18., fn. 1).

3 JRAS., 1920. p. 18, footnote 1.

4 "The names of places the pilgrims heard in conversation, were heard in local dialects" (Dr. Rhys Davids, Preface to Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. 1, p. vi).

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import.[1] But a Potentate possessed of only a small portion of the earth takes the title of Mahī (or Pṛthivī) pati, or Shah Jehan (king of the world). He may as well style a part of his territory as 'Jambudvīpa' to feel as proud and glorious as the lord of Jambudvīpa.

This, however, is a side issue: let 'Yen-mo-na-chou' mean some 'Dvīpa'; what we are concerned with is its location. Even in this matter I proceeded with caution. I asked for the opinion of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, an archeologist and a resident of Burma. He was kind enough to write as follows: "Your theory is that by Yen-mo-na-chou the Chinese traveller meant the southern half of Burma. You are perfectly entitled to hold your view and I am not disposed to oppose it."[2]

I would state in conclusion that controversy in a matter like this should be welcome as it is by discussion that truth comes out. Moreover "contest with great people", says our poet Bhāravi, "rather helps our way to progress" (samunnayan bhūtim.....varaṃ virodho'pi samaṃ mahātmabhiḥ).

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA

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1 In this connection I would invite attention to Col. G. E. Gerini's Synoptical Map prefixed to his "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography" in which Plakṣa Dvīpa, Sālmali Dvīpa, Śāka Dvīpa and Kraunca Dvīpa, (i.e., the majority of the seven Dvīpas) are shown in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

2 Hindustan Review, July 1924, p. 445, fn. 2.

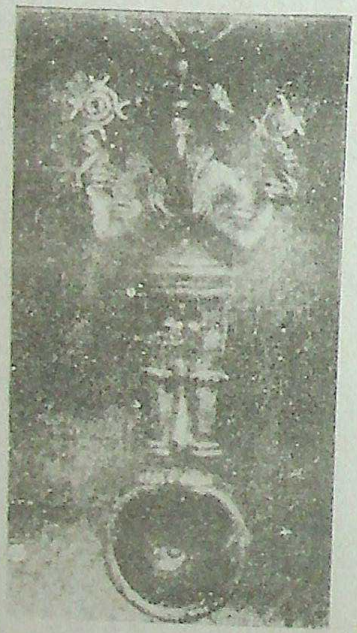

FIG. 1

FIG. 2 A

FIG. 2 B

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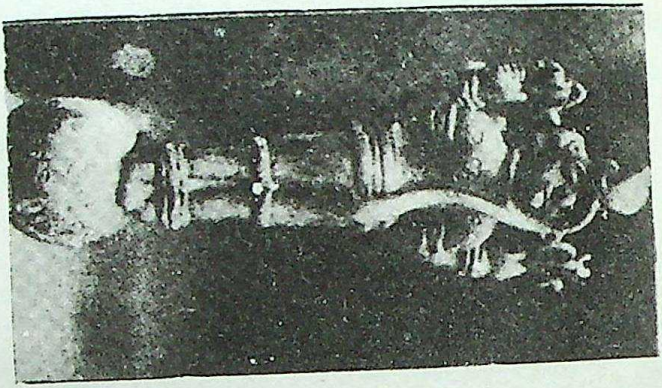

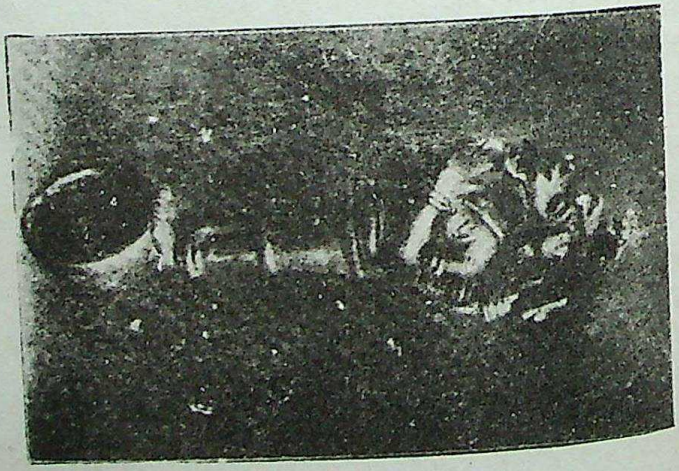

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A Copper-image of Panca-mukhī (Five-faced) Vīra-Hanuman

A copper-image of Vīra-Hanūmān with five faces was sent to me for identification by Miss A. S. Kelley, Lady Superintendent of the Primary Department of the Nizam College, Hyderabad. The image is a very rare specimen of South Indian images. It is attached to a little spoon and is in a standing position. The diameter of the spoon is just an inch and the height of the image is 3·3 inches. On the front, i.e., towards the hollow of the spoon, is the face of the Monkey-god. The face is fierce, with the grinning face and outstretched tongue. The mystic letter *Ram* (रं) is inscribed on the tongue upside down (see figure I). The script of the letter on the image is Telugu.

On another side (see figure 2) is the face of Narasiṃha, the Man-lion. On the third side (see figure 3) is the face of Garuḍa, the Bird-god. On the fourth side (see figures 1 and 3) is the face of the Boar-god. On the top of the image (see figures 1 and 2) is the face of the Horse-God, Hayagrīva. Four hands are represented in the image. The Dhyāna-śloka or meditation verse given below mentions 10 (5 × 2) hands. Two of these hands are folded together, which is the usual representation of Hanūmān in the ordinary images. The two other hands bear the Śaṅkha (Conch) and the Cakra (Wheel) (see figure 1). We find the tail of the Monkey-god well represented (see figs. 2 and 3). But at the end of the tail we find a cobra, with its hood open. The Dhyāna-śloka given below mentions the cobra as one of the symbols of this god. There is the usual ornamentation of the Pītāmbara (waist cloth), a garland round the neck, anklets, and hand-bangles. The mystic letter *Hrīm* (ह्रीं) is inscribed in the hollow of the spoon (see fig. 1). The Mantra or the mystic word, *Om, Rum, Rum, Rum, Om*, are written on the back of the spoon (see fig. 3). Below are the words *Om, Mum, Mum, Om*, written upside down. Lower down is the letter *Hrīm*, also written upside down. The mystic letter *Om* is found on the shoulders, both on the front and on the back (see figs. 1 & 3). One letter on either side is straight and the other is upside down.

The following Dhyāna-śloka or meditation verse is given in the Vīra-Hanūmat-kavaca in the *Stotra-mahodadhi*, a collection of Sanskrit hymns :

	Translation
Vande vānaranarasiṃhakhagarāṭ-kroḍāśvavaktrānvitam	I bow to him, who has the face of a monkey, a man-lion, a bird-

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divyālaṅkaraṇaṃ tripañcanayanaṃ
dedīpyamānam rucā ।
hastābjair asikheṭapustakasudhā-
kumbhāṅkuśādīn halān
khaṭvāṅgam phanibhūruhaṃ
daśabhujaṃ sarvāridarpāpaham ॥
Pañcavaktram mahābhīmaṃ
tripañcanayanair yutam ।
dasabhir bāhubhir yuktaṃ sarva-
kamārthasidhidam ॥
Pūrve tu vānaraṃ vaktraṃ koṭi-
sūryasama-prabham ।
daṃṣṭrākarālavadanam bhrukuṭi-
kuṭilekṣaṇam ॥
Anyaṃ tu dakṣiṇam vaktraṃ
narasiṃhaṃ mahādbhutam ।
atyugratejojvalitam bhīṣhaṇam
bhayanāśanam ॥
Paścime garuḍaṃ vaktraṃ
vajratuṇḍaṃ mahābalam ।
sarvarogapraśamanaṃ viṣabhūtā-
dikṛntanam ॥
Uttare śūkaraṃ vaktrṃ kṛṣṇā-
dityam mahojvalam ।
patāle siddhidaṃ nṛṇām
jvararogādināśanam ॥
Ūrdhvaṃ hayānanaṃ ghoraṃ dān-
avāntakaram param ।
etatpañcamukaṃ tasya dhyāyatām
abhayaṅkaram ॥
Khaḍgaṃ triśūlaṃ khatvāṅgam
pāśāṅkuśasuparvatam ।
kheṭāsīni pustakañ ca sudhākum-
bhahalāṃs tathā ॥
Etāny āyudhajālāni dhārayantaṃ
yājāmahe ।
pretāsanopaviṣṭaṃ tu sarvābha-
raṇabhūṣitam ॥

Translation

king, a boar and a horse...who has (?) 15 eyes and who has in his lotus-like hands a sword, a shield, a book, a pot of nectar, a goad, a plough, a snake and a tree and who has 10 hands...

He has 5 faces, 10 hands, 15 eyes.....

Towards the east is the face of a monkey...with teeth open and eye-brows well-knit...

To the south is the face of the man-lion.

Towards the west is the face of the bird-king.

Towards the north is the face of the Boar-god.

At the top is the face of a terrible horse...Thus is the image to be meditated upon.

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	Translation
Divyamālyāmbaradharaṃ divya-gandhānulepanam ।	Who wears a beautiful garland.....
sarvaiśvaryamayaṃ devam anantaṃ viśvatomukham ।	
Pañcāsyam acyutam anekavi-citravīryam	.....who has five faces.....
srīśaṅkhacakraramaṇīyabhu-jāyadesam(?) ।	who has the Śaṅkha (Conch) and Cakra (Wheel) in his hand, who wears a cloth, who has the anklets
pītāmbaram mukuṭakuṇḍala-nūpurāṅgam	
udyodyataṃ kapivaraṃ hṛdi bhāvayāmi ॥	
Markaṭesa mahotsāha sarvaloka-vināśaka ।	
śatrūn saṃhara mām rakṣa śriyaṃ dāpaya dehi me ॥	Destroy my enemies, protect me, bestow prosperity on me.

Then follows the mantra or the sacred formula, which was to be repeated a number of times. A portion of it is given below to enable the reader to follow the letters inscribed on the image.

Oṃ namo bhagavatpañca-vadanāya paścime garuḍamukhāya śrīvīrahanūmate. Om mum mum mum mum mum mum mum mahārudrāya sakalarogaviṣapārihārāya hum phaṭ ghe ghe ghe ghe ghe ghe svāhā.	*Om*, salutations to him who has five faces, to Vīra-Hanūmān, whose western face is that of Garuḍa. *Om mum mum mum···mahārudra*, the destroyer of all diseases and poisons···*ghe ghe* salutations to the face of Hayagrīva at the top···*rum*···to him who can bring under my control the whole world, who is the manifestation of the Veda learning.
Oṃ namo bhagavate pañca-vadanāya ūrdhvamukhasthita-hayagrīvamukhāya śrīvīrahanūmate. Om rum rum rum rum rum rum rudramūrtaye sakalaloka-vaśīkarāya vedavidyāsvarūpiṇe oṃ namaḥ svāhā.	*Om*, salutations·····destroy all fevers due to evil spirits and all other fevers, drive, away all kinds of evil spirits.
Oṃ namo bhagavate śrīvīra-hanūmate sarvabhūtajvara····· sarvajvarān chindhi chindhi bhindhi bhindhi yakṣarakṣasā brahma-rakṣasā bhūtapretapisācān uccāṭaya uccāṭaya. Om śrīṃ hrīṃ hrūm phaṭ ghe ghe svāhā.	

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The letters *hrīm*, *rum* and *mum* mentioned in the mantra are to be found inscribed on the spoon. The house of every Brahmin contains its household gods. They are worshipped with water and flowers every day. The water becomes consecrated and is poured into a metallic vase. The vase contains a spoon with the bottom hollow as in this image. The holder just fits into the vase, with a little portion jutting out of the vase, to enable the priest to hold it without touching the holy water with his hands or finger-nails. The hood of a serpent or the figure of Kṛṣṇa or the bud of a lotus is generally worked into the holder of the spoon. This is a unique spoon, with the mantra inscribed on it and the image attached to it. The image of Vīra-Hanūmān, with or without the spoon, is not generally found among the images that are daily worshipped. The temples dedicated to this particular form of Hanūmān are also very rare. There is one temple on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā in the Bellary district.[1]

S. HANUMANT RAO

Lüders on the Literary Materials found in Eastern Turkistan

Dr. Lüders of the Berlin University had come to Calcutta on an invitation of the Calcutta University and delivered a course of six lectures on the literary materials found in Eastern Turkistan and their bearing on Ancient Indian History and Culture. A synopsis of his lectures is given below :

From the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. has been Eastern Turkistan the battlefield of the peoples of Eastern Asia. Historical informations particularly from the Chinese source, supplemented by later discoveries, show that it was one after another visited by Indian tribes, Tokharians, Huns, Sakas and East Iranians, Tibetans, Turks, Kirgizes and Mongolians. From the East, China always attempted to take possession of the land.

In the seventh century, Huen-t-sang has given us a graphic description of this country. Here stood ancient kingdoms of Tu-ho-lo or Tokharo and Che-mo-t'o-na. But already at that time, the Tokharian cities were in ruins, and behind the high walls of Che-mo-t'o-na

1 I am indebted to Mr. R. K. Murthi, M.A., for supplying me with the photographs used in this paper.

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which had escaped destruction, reigned only the silence of death. Everywhere Buddhism was the ruling religon; many thousands of monks lived in the monasteries of the country. In the Northern part, all were followers of the Sarvāstivāda school, in Yārkand and in Khotan there were only Mahāyānists. Huen-t-sang has also remarked that the scripts in vogue in this region were all derived from the Indian scripts.

With the advent of the Turkish tribe of Uigurs, a new era began for this land. In Khocho, a new kingdom arose, the blooming period of which falls in the first half of the ninth century. Up to this time, as regards religion, Eastern Turkistan was a province of India; but now, besides Buddhism, there appeared Nestorian Christianity and Manichaeism which was confirmed in position when Bugug Khan, the ruler of Khocho, was converted to it. Soon however there arose Islam which was victorious over Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism.

The first manuscript material from this country was discovered in 1890 by two Turks in a Stupa at Qum-Tura, who sold it to Lieutenant Bower who on his part handed it over to Hoernle. It proved to be a complete manuscript written in Gupta characters and subsequent researches have proved that it dates from the second half of the fourth century A.C. This was the signal for energetic investigations on the part of the Archæologists of Europe and various manuscripts began to reach Calcutta, Berlin, Petersburg, Paris, London, Pekin and Tokio. In 1892, Dutreuil de Rhins obtained a birchbark manuscript written in Kharoṣṭhi characters of the second century A.C. Another portion of the same manuscript reached Petersburg. The Russians were the first to begin systematic excavations in this tract and in the year 1898 Klementz worked in the ruined cities in the north. From 1900 to 1901, Sir Aurel Stein carried on splendid excavations in the regions of Khotan. The first German expedition went to Turfan to the north of the desert in 1902, and in the years 1904-07, the German Committee for the exploration of Central Asia organised by Pischel sent two more expeditions. In 1906-08 Stein made a second expedition in which he discovered splendid treasures of manuscripts buried in the rock of Tun-Huang. Innumerable manuscripts were closed up in a chamber here, and, judging from the dates in these manuscripts, this chamber must have been closed in the 11th century. Stein succeeded in getting a portion of this treasure and after him Pelliot got some Mss. for his collection.

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Stein undertook another expedition in 1913 and more German and Russian expeditions followed, so that a large mass of Mss. was gathered written in innumerable scripts and languages.

Even among the earliest finds some Brāhmī Mss. were found; the language of them however was by no means Sanskrit. Hoernle deciphered some Indian names and expressions of Buddhist teminology and Leumann proved that there were two languages in them which he designated by I and II. Sieg and Siegling in 1907 made the startling discovery that language I was an Indo-Germanic language of the Centum group and to F. W. K. Müller goes the credit of discovering that it is nothing but the lost Tokharian language. Sieg and Siegling also proved that there are two dialects of the Tokharian language which they designated by the letters A and B and that, of them, the former is of a more antique type. Judging by the findspots, the home of the Tokharian language was the northern border of the desert from Kucha to Khocho and for this reason this language has been called Kuchean by Kirste, Konow and Lévi and this name is now more favoured by the scholars. The Kuchean texts are generally translations and remodellings of Buddhistic and medical works in Sanskrit but some fragments of dramas in Kuch. B, based on Buddhist legends, have been found.

Hoernle, Staél-Holstein, Konow, Pelliot, Gauthiot and Leumann have laboured to clear up the tangle of language II which for similar geographical reasons is now generally called Khotanese. Here we have business documents dated in an unknown era and numerous Buddhist texts partially also furnished with dates. Most of the Tokharian fragments are derived from the works of the Sarvāstivādins but the texts in Language II rather belong to works of the later Mahāyāna Literature such as the Vajracchedikā, Aparimitāyuḥsūtra, Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra, Saṃghāṭasūtra and the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Hoernle at first thought that the language of the business documents was connected with Tibetan, but Leumann proved that it is but a younger dialect of the language of the religious texts. Leumann thought it to be an Aryan language and called it North Aryan but Konow showed that it is really an Iranian language though very numerous Indian words are used in it. The people who used this language must have been settled in the south of this country and, as the Indian words in their language suggest, they must have lived a long time in India. Now, only two Iranian peoples made their way to India after the Christian era—the Pahlavas and the

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Śakas. The Pahlavas in all probability spoke the Pahlavī; but what we understand of the Śaka language agrees remarkably with language II and thus it may be held that it is the Śaka language.

Another important discovery was that of the Manichaean texts. Manichaeism was once a successfull rival of Christianity and its sphere of influence was extended from the Mediterranean to the confines of China but strangely enough nothing about it was known from direct source till now. All the Manichaean texts are distinguished by external decorations. Linguistically the Iranian texts of Manichaean contents are divided into three groups. Some are composed in a dialect which is clearly connected with Pahlavī, the official language of the Sassanian kingdom. The second group is composed in the dialect of North-Western Persia which is undoubtedly the language of the Arsakidae of this region who were the predecessors of the Sassanians. According to Andreas the so-called Chaldaeo-Pahlavī which appears in the inscriptions of the Sassanian kings, is identical with this language. Though not in number yet in importance the third group takes the first place; they are written partly in Manichaean partly in the so-called Uigurian alphabet. Andreas recognised Soghdian in this language immediately after it was known—an almost forgotten East Iranian dialect; Alberuni has left us the name of this language. F. W. K. Müller then proved that in the famous Kara-Balgassum inscription with various languages dealing with the introduction of Manichaeism in the Uigur kingdom, the hardly readable text in Uigurian characters which up to then had been regarded as Uigurian, was really composed in Soghdian.

Song books of the Nestorian Christians have been discovered from the northern part of the country as well as extensive fragments of a pericope book written in Syrian script but in a language which proves to be a variety of Manichaean-Soghdian. The third religion Buddhism too had made use of the Soghdian language for propaganda work. Fragments of the Vajracchedikā, Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra and other works are contained in the Berlin collection. Among the texts published by Gauthiot there is the Vessantarajātaka which however we find here in a new version.

Turkish philology too has been immensely enriched by these discoveries. The oldest work in this language was hitherto the Quatadgu Bilig written in Kashgar in 1069. Now we have a stately amount of Mss. which are at least two centuries older. The scripts used in these Mss. are as varied as their contents. The Manichaean Estrangelo,

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the so-called Uigurian alphabet, the Brāhmī and the peculiar runic characters deciphered by Thomsen on the stones of Orkhon and Jenissei, have been used in them. The contents of these Mss. may be divided into three groups according to the three religions. Among the Buddhistic works a great portion is occupied by the later works: the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, prayer-formulas, dhāraṇīs and confession formularies with lists of all possible sins. Most interesting are the fragments of Indian legends and it is really astonishing to know that once in Khocho people used to amuse themselves with the recitation of the sagas of the Mahābhārata, for instance, that of Bimbasena or Bhīmasena and his battle with the Rākṣasa Hiḍimba. Two leaves of Manichean origin in the Berlin collection are particularly interesting. In one of them there is the story of the adventures of the Bodhisattva or as he is called here, Bodhisav, and in the other we have the repulsive story of a youngman who in a drunken state embraces the rotting corpse of a woman. This story too is of Buddhist origin.

Tibetan Mss. are very numerous of which only a few religious poems have been edited by Barnett and Francke; but extraordinarily rich is the crop of Chinese documents collected by Stein. There are paper Mss. among them dating from the second century and are thus the oldest specimens of paper in the world. The greatest part of the documents however are written on wooden tablets, some also on bamboo sticks. The pieces of wood dated in 98 B. C., are derived from the archives of garrisons which were stationed by the Great Wall at the western boundary of the empire. We possess the minutest details about the daily life in these military colonies of the first centuries before and after the Christian era, about the food, pay and arms of the soldiers, the optical telegraph-service and their postal system. The later Chinese documents are mostly works of the Buddhist canon and business documents.

Most important perhaps are the Mss. in Indian languages. The documents in leather and on wood which Stein has found on the river Niya are of historical interest. They contain decrees and reports of the local magistrates, summonses, warrants for arrest, official and private correspondence, all written in Kharoṣṭhī and composed in a Prakrit dialect. When in 1920 Rapson, Boyer and Senart published the first volume of these documents, Konow examined the names of the kings mentioned in them and showed that one of them, the Mahārāja Aṃkvaka is identical with the Khotan king An-Kuo (old

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pronunciation An-Kwak) of the Chinese sources, who ascended the throne in A.D. 152 after his father Kien (old pronunciation Kian) had been murdered. Konow at first thought that the dates in these documents were only in regnal years of different kings, but when the second volume of these documents appeared in 1927 he changed his opinion and suggested that perhaps all these dates are in one era. The form of the wooden documents are singular. Two tablets, sometimes rectangular, more often however wedge-shaped, are tied up with a cord passing through holes in the tablets with the two sides which bear the text placed one upon another and closed up with a seal. We thus see that in the second century Indians lived in Khotan, who, judging by the language and the script, came from Gandhāra and were intermingled with a Chinese population. To these Indian colonists should no doubt be ascribed and the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. of Dhammapada which bears the name of Dutreuil de Rhins.

The remains of the Sanskrit Buddhist canonical literature have been infinitely multiplied since Pischel discovered the first pages of the Saṃyuktāgama. Penetrating researches have proved that both the Pāli and the Sanskrit canons are derived from a common source which was composed in the eastern dialect which was the language of daily life in the land of Buddha's activity. Now by piecing together the fragments we may perhaps restore the canon which existed in Magadha in the early centuries before the Christian era.

But by far the most dramatic discoveries have been made in the sphere of Sanskrit kāvya and drama by the recovery of the famous dramas of Aśvaghoṣa and various fragments of the Kāvya literature of the early centuries of the Christian era. One of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa, about the authenticity of which there can be no doubt, deals with the story of the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Another is an allegorical drama; wisdom, constancy and fame converse with one another about the excellent qualities of the Master. Here we have for the first time the original hymns of Mātṛceta which till now were known only from Chinese and Tibetan translations. Another important discovery in this sphere is the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā of Kumāralāta, the Chinese translation of which is wrongly called Sūtrālaṃkāra and ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. Fragments of this work have been published by Dr. Lüders who has also proved that Kumāralāta was a native of Taxila and his time was slightly later than that of Aśvaghoṣa. How this curious mistake came to be made is still a matter of conjecture.

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REVIEW

VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI. Edited by Sylvain Lévi. Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. Paris 1925.

The Sanskrit text of *Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā* of Vasubandhu with a commentary on *Viṃśatikā* by Vasubandhu and a commentary on *Triṃśikā* by Sthiramati has been edited under the title *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* by M. Sylvain Lévi, Professor at the College de France, Paris and published by the Librarie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Paris. *Viṃśatikā* consists of twenty-two verses and these have a short commentary of about eight pages. The first page of the manuscript of the *Viṃśatikā* was lost and Professor Lévi has reconstructed the Sanskrit text of this page from Chinese and Tibetan translations. The *Triṃśika* consists of thirty verses and it has a commentary of about thirty pages by Ācārya Sthiramati, called the *Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya*. It also contains a photograph of the first and the last pages of the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Triṃśikā* and the second and the last pages of the *Viṃśatikā* manuscripts and an introduction in French in which Professor Lévi describes the way in which he discovered the manuscripts of these two valuable treatises in the Maharaja's library in Nepal.

These two treatises are probably the most important and systematic works on Buddhist idealism that have yet been published. The text of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* was published long ago by Prof. Lévi with a French translation. But this work deals almost wholly with the conduct of the spiritual aspirants of Buddhist idealists and not with their systematic philosophy. The text of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* edited in 1923 by Nanjio from Kyoto, Japan, was probably the first important philosophical text of Buddhist idealism published. The treatises of the *Viṃśatikā* though much shorter in dimension, being only forty-five pages in all with text and commentary, are much more systematic works than the *Laṅkāvatārsūtra* and represent a school of idealism which is largely different on some important and essential points from the idealism of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. M. Lévi announced that a French translation with notes will be published in 1926, but so far as I know this has not yet been published.

Vasubandhu was a pluralist in his early days when he

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wrote his great Sanskrit work the *Abhidharmakoṣaśāstra* which has not yet been published, but a French translation of which on the basis of its Chinese and Tibetan translations and Chinese commentaries, has been published by Professor de la Vallée Poussin with copious notes, references and Sanskrit extracts. Later, he is said to have been converted into monistic idealism by his brother Asaṅga, the writer of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. The views expressed in this work are greatly different from those of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. It admits "thought" or *Vijñaptimātratā* as a permanent substance, unchangeable and eternal, which was also identical with happiness (*sukhamaya*). It thus anticipates Śaṅkara's doctrine of Brahman and the philosophy of Brahman in a very remarkable way. It believes in the evolution of the different categories, the sense-functions and the sensibles which are all of the nature of thought—a product of it out of the activity of its own self-transforming energy. The world is not real in the sense of something that exists outside of thought, and independent of it, but it is a real transformation and creation of thought evolving out of the deep and undisturbed eternity of thought and producing the world-show of externality, of subject, object, space and sense-data.

It does not seem however that proper care was taken in the editing of the text and it has not reached the high standard of European efficiency so often rightly claimed for texts published in Europe under the supervision of eminent scholars. Out of the thirty pages of the *Triṃśikā*, I have noticed at least fifty mistakes consisting of wrong spellings and absurd punctuations, the latter being far more dangerous for understanding a passage than the former. In some of the passages, full strokes have been given in the midst of a sentence where the sense would not allow of such breaks. In the first few dedicating lines in Sanskrit composed by Prof. Lévi himself, there are two mistakes—one a misprint of पुनर्विदंगार्थिभिः for पुनर्विद्यार्थिभिः and another a grammatical mistake of राजगुरुपदालंकृताय for अनलंकृतराजगुरुपदाय.

The proper Sanskrit restoration of the third line of the second verse of the *Viṃśatikā* should not have been संतानस्यानियमश्च but न चित्तस्याप्यनियमः. The restoration, as it is, has also spoiled the metre of the verse. It could well have been rendered into संतानानियमो नैव'. This meaning however can be defended if two different meanings viz. quantitative and qualitative limitations are given to नियम in देशकालनियम and in संतानानियम ; but this is not probable, for these two words occur in the same context and in the same sentence.

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Some of the mistakes that I have noticed in the edition are given below :

Viṃśikā—

p. 3, l. 23 संतानानियमः for संतानगियमः
p. 6, l. 15 भवति for भवति
p. 6, l. 17 धर्मेणाम् for धर्माणाम्
p. 7, l. 1 परमाणूना for परमाणूनाम
p. 7, l. 27 सर्वं for सर्वः
p. 8, l. 1 छायाश्रतो for छायाश्रतो
p. 9, l. 17 सत्वानाम् for सत्त्वानाम्
p. 9, l. 18 The stroke before तदा is to be deleted.

Triṃśika—

p. 15, l. 11 अक्लिष्टम् for क्लिष्टम्
p. 15, l. 11 सफलं for सकलं
p. 15, l. 12 प्रकरणारम्भ for ०रम्भः
p. 15, l, 11 विज्ञानपरिणामे for ०णामो
y. 16, l. 9 धर्माय for धर्माय
p. 16, l. 28 इन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वं for इन्द्रियाग्राह्यत्वं
p. 17, l. 1 The stroke after विज्ञानवत् should be deleted.
p. 17, l. 2 प्रसज्यते for प्रसज्यते
p. 18, l. 5 यत्वात्मा ह्युपचारो for यत्वात्मादुपचारो
p. 18, l. 6 याऽस्य for याऽस्य
p. 18, l. 8 The stroke closing the sentence should be deleted.
p. 18, l. 9 The stroke closing the sentence should be deleted.
p. 18, l. 10 The stroke closing the sentence should be deleted.
p. 20, l. 14 तत्वावलम्बने for तत्वालम्बने
p. 21, l. 20 The two strokes in this line closing the sentences should be deleted.
p. 22, l. 7 व्याप्तिरर्हत्वे for ०त्वे
p. 22, l. 1 पुनरर्हत्व for ०त्वं
p. 24, l. 15 अर्हत्व for अर्हत्त्व
p. 25, l. 1 षड्विधस्य for षड्विधस्य
p. 28, l. 19 ०वस्य for ०वस्य
p. 28, l. 22 स्वर्ग for स्वर्ग
p. 28, l. 25 त्रिविधः for त्रिविधः
p. 29, l. 1 ०म for ०म
p. 29, l. 12 मे for मे
p. 31, l. 8 सम्यगपवाद for सम्यगपवाद
p. 31, l. 3 परिपन्न for परिपन्न

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p. 31. l. 29	गुणवत्व for गुणवत्त्व
p. 32, l. 1	पाश्च for पार्श्व
p. 33, l. 8	त for तैः
p. 36, i. 22	यदानगत for यदनागत
p. 37, l. 21	अर्थादयो for अथादयो
p. 37, l. 20	Two strokes in this line for closing the sentences should be deleted.
p. 37, l. 21	The stroke for closing the sentence should be deleted.
p. 37, l. 21	चासत्वात् for चासत्त्वात्
p. 38, l. 6	A stroke should be introduced after विरोधात्.
p. 38, l. 15	चाधिपत्यत्वात for चाधिपत्यात्
p. 39, l. 14	The stroke after विद्यते should be deleted.
p. 39, l. 19	प्रतन्त्र for परतन्त्र

DIṄNĀGA

SIR WILLIAM JONES AND HIS TRANSLATION OF KĀLIDĀSA'S ŚAKUNTALĀ. By D. P. Ray Chowdhury, Ph. D. (Göttingen). With a Foreward by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.

Dr. Ray Chowdhury has discharged a national debt through this charming little book. He has voiced forth in it the sentiments of the Indian scholars towards Sir William Jones who has put us under obligation for all time to come by first making it known to the western world what the Indian civilisation is like. Sir William Jones discovered the Sanskrit literature for Europe and the Sanskrit literature owes him much of its world-wide popularity. As Prof. Radhakrishnan says in his Foreward, "many of the views set forth by Sir William Jones have been exploded," but much remains still unchallenged forming stout pillars to the great edifice of Indology.

In the first part of this book Dr. Ray Chowdhury has given a biographical sketch of Sir William Jones, of course, with particular reference to the literary side of his genius, and incidentally he has described in a beautiful manner the interesting story of the discovery of Sanskrit in Europe and in this connection has directly quoted from various French and German sources. The second part contains a critical study of Jones' translation of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā and the author has pointed out with due deference to the pioneer scholar the important mistakes and irregularities in the translation under

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four heads: (1) Omissions, (2) Additions and amplifications, (3) Alterations in the sense of the text, probably deliberate, and (4) Alterations in the sense of the text, probably due to imperfect understanding.

Indology as a science is sinking more and more into the depths of technicalities altogether devoid of all literary forms; at this time it is really a genuine pleasure to find a book like Dr. Ray Chowdhury's which is accurate and scientific and at the same time elegant and pleasant reading and not without some welcome strokes of charming humour. It is to be hoped that Dr. Ray Chowdhury's book will be very popular among students of Sanskrit Literture.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA, vol. II. By Lord Chalmers. Oxford University Press (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. VI), London.

We are delighted to see the completion of an onerous task undertaken by Lord Chalmers. In the review of the first part of this work (I.H.Q., Vol. II, pp. 667-8), we dealt with its value generally, the many improvements made by him in the selection of English substitutes for Pāli words with a special sense, and the departures made by him, which did no. quite appeal to us. The present volume continues the translation of the second and third volumes of the Majjhima Nikāya (P. T. S.) in the same style of language as used in the previous volume, and needs therefore no comment.

One feature need, however, be pointed out viz, the abridgment made at places where repetitions occur in the text. In the present stage of Buddhistic studies when our time is too short to enable us to go through the already large number of publications on Buddhism, our labour should be saved as far as possible by the elimination of the repetitions of the same passage either in the text or in the translation. We hope the example set by Lord Chalmers will be followed by the future editors and translators of Buddhistic books. The merit of the present volume is enhanced by the Index prepared by Mrs. Rhys Davids whose unflagging energy in connection with the Pāli Text Society is so well-known. We commend this volume to our readers and hope that Lord Chalmers will continue his work by translating the other Nikāyas.

KACCAYANA

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INDISCHE FAHRTEN (second revised edition), 2 vols. By Dahlmann. With 244 pictures in 63 plates and one map.

Mr. Dahlmann travelled in India during the years 1904 and 1905. His stay in this country was very short, too short perhaps for the bulky volumes he offers to the public as the diary of his journey. He set foot on the soil of India on the 25th November 1904 and sailed home on the 5th June, 1905. During this short period, the author visited various places where architectural monuments, ancient or modern, are to be found. From this, scientific accuracy can hardly be expected ; yet this work is not without its good points. Mr. Dahlmann is a magician of words ; the rhythm and resonance of his language are simply charming, his prose is like poetry. Whatever the author has to say he has said beautifully, clearly and forcefully.

As has been said already, the work cannot be called scientific. Convenience rather than a consistent plan seems to have determined his routes over the wide stretches of land he has travelled through and so his work lays before us a motley picture of things old and new which is anything but harmonious. A serious student of Indian architecture will be disappointed in this work ; the author has confined himself merely to the description in broad outlines of the monuments he has visited and unlike a true scholar he has always permitted his personal bias to intrude into his picture and lend it a tendentious colouring. Mr. Dahlmann has theorised but little and be it said to his credit that he has perceived the magnitude of Indian influence on the Javanese art though among the Dutch scholars like Krom and Schriek there is a growing tendency to minimise it and exaggerate the importance of the indigenous element. This work would have been very welcome to the literary dilettante if the author had confined himself merely to what is possible ; but our author is not content with that. He thinks that in a few months he can not only visit the monuments scattered over a vast area and comprehend their full significance, but he can also form a correct idea about the nation itself and gauge the depth of its civilisation. The first monuments he visited in India were those of Puri and Bhuvaneśvara and he was scandalised. Next he visited Benares which in his opinion is a hell on earth and the most disgusting place in Asia. Even this may be passed. But Mr. Dahlmann does not stop there; his pious indignation completely carries him away and he plunges into the most monstrous generalisations: temples are places of orgies (vol. I, 177), Brahmanical sanctity is nothing

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but sensuality (ibid.) and the sculptures on the temple of Orissa are the true interpreter of the essence of Hinduism (vol. I, p. 179). It is simply bewildering; but nothing is impossible with an author who finds Bodh-Gaya to be situated on the bank of the Ganges (vol. I, p. 27) and images of Durgā in every temple in China and Japan, carried from India to these distant lands by Buddhism (vol. I, p. 189) and who was horrified at the sight of the image of Durgā, the goddess of horror (Schrecken) and the spouse of Śiva, 'the most blood-thirsty god in the Hindu pantheon, worshipped by more than 200 millions of Hindus, enthroned in a world of deified apes' (Ibid.). Instances of absurdities like these may be easily multiplied but what has already been shown is sufficient to prove that the author is short-sighted to the point of blindness. Mendacious cicerones and hypocritical mendicants initiated him into the mysteries of Hinduism and no wonder he formed the conviction that "Hindusim" signifies a set of uncouth images, courses of barbarous ceremonies, and the worship of "*Hanumänner*" (vol. I, p. 187). But what is the distinguishing feature of Hinduism and Indian art! Mr. Dahlmann has his answer ready: Grobsinnlichkeit—gross sensuality. Our author has travelled through many countries but he seems to be unaware of the well-known fact that truth is eternal and what is long-standing must contain some truth. The vitality of Hinduism which did not escape the eyes even of Mr. Dahlmann could not well be nourished merely on a vein of unmitigated Grobsinnlichkeit.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. ix, pt. I.

S. M. PARANJAPE.—*Bhāsa versus Śaktibhadra.* It has been contended here that the suggestion of some scholars that the so-called Bhāsa-plays might be the works of Śaktibhadra, the author of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, can be disproved from the internal evidences of the *Cūḍāmaṇi* and the Bhāsa-plays themselves.

V. K. RAJVADE.—*Words in the Ṛgveda.* The word 'Manu' in its various forms as found in the Ṛgveda has been dealt with here.

SUKUMAR SEN.—*The Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose.*

AMARESWAR THAKUR.—*Documents in Ancient India.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, vol. IV, part IV

L. D. BARNETT.—*Yama, Gandharva and Glaucus.* In this article all the data about Yama and Gandharva found in the Veda and the Avesta have been discussed and an attempt has been made to connect them with some legends current in Hellenistic lands and the Near East.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.—*The Agastya Selection of Tamil Saivite Hymns.*

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.—*Dravidian Gender-words.*

Indian Antiquary, January, 1928

N. K. BHATTASALI.—*Progress of the Collection of Mss. at the Dacca University.*

Ibid., February, 1928

A. S. BHANDARKAR.—*A Possible Identification of Mount Devagiri mentioned in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta.* The author tries to identify a mountain known as *Devagurāḍā* situated about six miles

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south-east of Indore with *Devagiri* (*devapūrvaṃ girim*) mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*.

R. R. HALDAR.—*Rāwal Jaitrasiṃha of Mewār.*

Ibid., March, 1928

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Buddhist Women.* This continued article contains an account of some women who have been given prominence in early Buddhist texts.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1927

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA—*Note on the Ancient Monuments of Maurbhanj.*

Ibid., September and December, 1927

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Hathigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāravela.*

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*The Śuṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā.*

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. I, no. 1

H. HERAS.—*The Decay of Portuguese Power in India.*

BALKRISHNA.—*Sopārā the Ancient Fort of Konkan.*

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*The Place of Virakūrca in Pallava Genealogy.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1928

G. TUCCI.—*Is the Nyāyapraveśa by Diṅnāga.* Prof. Tucci prefers the Chinese title 'Nyāyapraveśa sūtra' (Chinese *lun*) to the Sanskrit title 'Nyāya-praveśa-sūtra'. He also traces from the Chinese sources that the work cannot be attributed to Diṅnāga but it should be attributed to Diṅnāga's disciple Śaṅkarasvāmin.

J. FARQUHAR. *Temple and Image Worship in Hinduism.* The writer, by a study of some of the modern works written by Mr. Iyangar, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Coomaraswamy and Prof. Keith, and on a close observation of some of the modern Brahmanic customs and traditions, concludes that "the temple

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and image worship grew up among the Śūdras" (who were really some Dasyus or Dāsas, a place having been accorded to them by the Brāhmaṇas at a later date in the Aryan Society as the 4th class or caste), that it was thrown open to the three Aryan castes about 400 B. C., and thereafter steadily climbed to its present position."

C. W. GURNER.—*Notes on the text of Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda.* It contains some textual notes and suggests a few improvements on the readings of the existing edition.

J. CHARPENTIER.—*Amitraghāta.* He suggests on the basis of a passage in Strabo that the Sanskrit word *Amitraghāta* does not exactly correspond to its Greek form. It should, according to him, be *Amitrakhāda.*

D. C. BHATTACHARYA.—*Date of the Subhāṣitāvali.* The writer doubts the date of the work ascribed to it by Dr. S. K. De.

STEN KONOW—*Note on a new Taxila Inscription.*

Visvabharati Quarterly, January, 1928

RAMES BASU.—*The Culture-products of Bengal.*—The paper deals with the condition of Muslim arts and crafts as also the philosophy of life as viewed by the Muslims during the Muhammadan period in Bengal.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

The Late Mr. F. E. Pargiter, I. C. S.

Mr. Pargiter who died early last year, belongs to the ranks of that portion of the Indian Civil Service, now unfortunately dwindling, which has been exhibiting a scholarly interest in the elucidation of materials for Indian history and culture. He served for more than thirty years in Bengal, ending his career as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1906. During his official career, he wrote several official manuals like *The Bengal Municipal Acts* and *The Revenue History of the Sundarbans 1765-1870*. He was closely connected with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he rose to be the President before he retired. He spent much of the twenty years of his retirement at Oxford devoting the bulk of his attention to Oriental studies and associating himself with the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was one of the Vice-Presidents.

While in India he contributed several papers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, a part of which dealt with East Bengal which he knew best, and the other related to his researches in connection with his English translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series which was finished in 1905 after seventeen years of labour. After his retirement he took to the study of the Kṣatriya as distinct from the Brahmanical tradition and to the interpretation of Purānic geography and history based on this idea which culminated in the production of his two remarkable works *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (1913), and *The Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1922), the raw materials for which were published as papers in the JRAS. He edited several Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions like that on the Wardak Vase, published papers in the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Indian Antiquary*, assisted Dr. Hœrnle in preparing *The Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, and compiled the Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society which contains an exhaustive list of his papers to the Journal of the Society.

Indology has sustained a heavy loss in his death and the unique place occupied by him in the domain of Indology will remain vacant for a long time to come.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

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Bunyu Nanjo (1849-1927)

The death of Bunyû Nanjô[1] has been a great loss to oriental studies which we all deplore. Born as the son of an abbot of the *Seiunji* temple of the *Higashi Honganji* branch of the *Shinshu* sect at Ogaki on July 1, 1849, he was brought up in an entirely pious atmosphere in his childhood and received an education which was both Buddhistic and traditional. After the restoration of the Imperial regime in 1868, when he had to serve as an ordinary soldier, Nanjô entered the Buddhist Institution of Higashi Honganji at Kyoto for his higher studies. He stayed there for two years and distinguished himself by his proficiency. "At the age of twenty-three, he was adopted as son and heir of the abbot of *Okunenji*, a noted temple in the province of *Echizen*. From that time, Nanjô began his activities as a priest and preacher. The following year he was called to Kyoto to serve as a minor official of the Higashi Honganji, the headquarters of the sect to which he belonged. Due to the faithful and valuable service he rendered, he steadily rose in position and gained the confidence of his superiors until in 1876 he was selected by the Honganji Institution to be sent abroad to study Sanskrit." He went to England in 1876 where he stayed till 1884. This long stay enabled him to study Sanskrit at Oxford under so eminent a teacher as Max Müller. It was there that he published his first great work on the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, a work which has become since then classical. It is his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, published from Oxford in 1883, which practically revealed a new field of study to the Orientalists.

A collection of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, printed and published in Japan in 1678-1681 A.D., was presented to the India Office in London in 1875 by the Japanese government. Rev. Samuel Beal undertook to prepare a catalogue of the collection which appeared in 1876 under the title: *The Buddhist Tripiṭaka, as it is known in China and Japan —a catalogue and a compendious report.*" Rev. Beal's imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit and the language of the Chinese Buddhist texts did not permit him to do full justice to the subject and his work failed to give a correct idea of its importance. Nanjô, however, re-examined the whole collection in 1880, rearranged it in proper

1 Though his name is generally written as *Bunyu Nanjio*, its correct transcription, *Bunyû Nanjô*, has been adopted here.

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order and began the preparation of his work. He compared the ancient catalogues of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, recorded 1662 Chinese Buddhist texts at his disposal, restored the Sanskrit titles of all the texts and whenever possible noted their concordance with Pāli, Tibetan and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. In three valuable appendices to the book he added short biographical notes on Indian Buddhist authors, Indian and foreign translators and Chinese writers. In short, the work which he produced was thoroughly critical and finished from every standpoint. Researches of the last 40 years, we must admit, have brought to light new facts and Nanjô's work requires a thorough revision. But as long as such a work is not forthcoming, Nanjô's catalogue will serve the purpose of a constant guide-book to all students of Buddhism, as it has done for nearly half a century. Nobody should however minimise the importance of the works done by Nanjô's predecessors—Julien, Wassiliev and others.[1] But they had only introduced the subject whereas Nanjô laid the solid foundation of a starting point for more systematic study of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. Nanjô returned from England in 1884 and the very next year he was appointed the first Professor of Sanskrit in the Imperial University of Tokyo. He came to India in 1887 and visited Bodh-Gaya and other places connected with the history of Buddhism. He returned to Japan to be honoured with the degree of *Bungaku Hakushi* (Doctor of Literature)—he being one of the sixteen foremost scholars of Japan who were similarly honoured for the first time. In 1900 Nanjô travelled to Siam to receive from its royal court a part of the ashes of the founder of Buddhism. The following year, in company with other Japanese scholars, he came to Hanoi (Tonkin) as a delegate to the International Congress of Orientalists held there under the auspices of the French Government. Since then Nanjô lived the life of a silent worker at home till his death.

Amongst his works published in foreign languages, the most noteworthy are—*A short history of the Twelve Japanese sects* (Tokyo, 1887), a translation of a Japanese work, which for the first time presented

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1 Cf. *Stanislas Julien, Concordance Sinico-Sanscrite d'un nombre considérable d'ouvrages bouddhiques*.....JA., 1849, pp. 353-445; Wo Wassiliev, *Der Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen* etc. 1860; Eitel, *Handbook for the student of Chinese Buddhism* 1870 and works of Beal published during 1871-1882.

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in English a systematic account of the Japanese Buddhist schools. His edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, prepared in collaboration with Kern and published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, and his edition of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* published only a few years ago bears testimony to his sound knowledge of Sanskrit. Materials are wanting here for giving a full account of his works in Japanese. It seems that he published a Japanese translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* in 1915. Just before his death he published a book in Japanese called *Kaikyu Roku*[1] which contains his own reminiscences.

Nanjô has passed away at the mature age of 79. He had the satisfaction to follow in the course of an active career of more than 40 years the great progress of Sanskritic study in Japan, which he was the first to inaugurate. His services to the cause of Oriental study have been greatly appreciated during this long period. He had combined in himself the traditional Japanese method of study with the critical method of the West and his works amply show how far such a fruitful synthesis is desirable. By his death Oriental scholarship has suffered an irreparable loss.

P. C. BAGCHI

1 See *The Young East*, III,6, pp. 197ff. "Reminiscences of a Great Buddhist scholar." In 1881 Nanjô published "A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Books and Manuscripts lately added to the Bodleian Library."

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Valipattana Plates of Silāra Raṭṭarāja Śaka-saṃvat 932

These plates were kindly made over to me by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. They had been lying for some time with his brother, the late lamented Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar and nothing is known about the spot where they were originally found. I have therefore named them after the place from which they were issued.

These are three copper-plates, the second of which is engraved on both sides; the other two are engraved on one side alone except that the third plate has one line on the reverse side also. Each plate measures about 7⅛″ long by 3⅞″ broad. The plates are strung on a circular ring about ¼″ thick and about 2″ in diameter. This ring has soldered on to it the image of Garuḍa who is represented as a man squatting with the hands clasped on the chest. There is a wing on the left shoulder and the corresponding wing on the right shoulder is partially broken. The engraving is generally good and well preserved but the corners of the second and third plates have got worn off with the loss of a few letters, and on the third plate the last line on the obverse side and the line on the reverse side have become rather indistinct. Besides, the second plate has got a crack about 2″ from the top, but none of the letters has been lost. The

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size of the letters is about 3/16." The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit, but inaccuracies, both of spelling and grammar, abound, specially in the portion recording the particulars of the property given. That there is a carelessness in the composition is manifest throughout. There are altogether 96 lines of writing in the inscription. After the introductory *Svasti*, the first three lines form a dedicatory verse, and next, up to the middle of line 32, there are 22 lines of verse which deal with genealogical subjects. The rest of the inscription makes up the formal part of the grant and is in prose with the exception of five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 65-75 and 79-84 and one verse in lines 90-92 on the requisites of a valid charter.

The orthography of the inscription shows occasional carelessness on the part of the scribe. The sign of the *Avagraha* is nowhere used in it: the sign for *v* has been four times used for *b*, in *nālikerāmvunā* (l. 16), *vrāhmaṇa* (l. 44), *vrāhmaṇī* (l. 54), *vahubhiḥ* (l. 69); the letter *b* has been only once used in the inscription and that wrongly, in the word *atība* (l. 27); the signs for the dental *s* and the palatal *ś* are not very clearly distinguished,[1] *s* is used for *ś* in *sūro* (l. 29). The letter *n* is wrongly used instead of *anusvāra* in *dvātrinśat* (l. 38); *m* is retained instead of being changed into *anusvāra* in *samvatsara* (l. 38); similarly *ṅ* is used in *aṅkataḥ* (l. 39), *samalaṅkṛta* (l. 42), *Saṅkamaiya* (l. 45), *vāiṅgana* (l. 46). The letter *t* is wrongly not doubled in *tatva* (l. 17); after *r*, the letters are generally doubled as in *dharmma* (ll. 3, 21), *urjjita* (l. 9), *durgga* (l. 13) &c. The mark for *e* is sometimes affixed above the consonant, or, following the earlier practice, it is placed to the left: the second form is illustrated in the words *prasādena* (l. 2), *deśa* (l. 11) &c., and the first in *nālikera* (ll. 15, 16), *netra* (l. 17), *Cemulya* (l. 21), &c. Similarly in the sign for *o*,

1 Similarly, the signs for *y*, *v* and *c* are not always very clearly distinguished.

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we find the *e* element put at the top in such words as *purādhīśo* (l. 4), *ketoḥ* (l. 5) &c., and placed to the left in *jāto* (l. 27), *śūro* (l. 29) &c. Both single and double marks of punctuation have been used, though they have sometimes been omitted owing to the carelessness of the scribe. Though single marks were not quite usual at the period, they were sometimes used, as in the Bhāndup plates of Silāra Cittarājadeva.[1] In the portion giving the description and boundaries of the land granted, there is a mixture of Sanskrit with the vernacular of the district, as in *Āvaḍī nāma vāḍī* (ll. 51-52), *pūrvvataḥ pāṣāṇa-deulī* (ll. 57-58) &c.

The inscription records a grant of some land by the Silāra Mahāmaṇḍalika Raṭṭarāja. Of this prince and, in fact, of the family[2] to which he belongs, we have, so far, only one other inscription which is contained in the Kharepatan plates and has been edited by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Sastri in the J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. I, p. 209 ff. and re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 292 ff. The Kharepatan grant bears the date Śaka Saṃvat 930 while the one under review has Ś. S. 932, so that it wss executed only two years after the first. Both the grants were written by the same person, viz., Lokapārya, the son of the minister of war and peace (*Sāndhi-vigrahika*) Devapāla. As might be expected under the circumstances, there is much similarity between the two inscriptions, but the points in which they differ, are, as we shall see below, no less striking.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 277 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 250 ff.

2 This is the family of the Silāras of the Southern Konkana. Mr. K. T. Telang had obtained a transcript of a plate belonging to this family but it does not appear to have been published as yet (*vide Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX. p. 38, note 47). The family name is spelt here Silāra. This is also the spelling in the Kharepatan plates. For the various ways in which the name is spelt in the inscriptions of the collateral branches of this family, as also for its suggested derivation, see Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 294 and Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 252.

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The inscription opens with *svasti*, and after a dedicatory verse the peculiar character of which we shall discuss afterwards, it proceeds to give in lines 4-32 the genealogy of Raṭṭarāja in practically the same words as in the Kharepatan plates, there being only a few immaterial verbal differences here and there. As this genealogy has been fully described by Dr. Kielhorn, it is not necessary to deal with it here at any length. With regard to the ancestors of Raṭṭarāja our inscription adds nothing to what is given in the earlier one, but about Raṭṭarāja himself we may note some very important facts. During the brief period of two years that separate the two grants, the religious beliefs of the princely donor appear to have undergone a great change, at the same time when his political status seems to have been substantially improved.

In the first place, the dedicatory verse which is quite unique shows the unsettled character of Raṭṭarāja's creed. No particular deity is addressed, and though the grammar and metre are both faulty, the meaning is quite clear, viz. that by the grace and favour of the deity that one may be pleased to worship (*abhimata-devatā-prasādena*), an immense good fortune can always be acquired by living beings (*prāṇīnāṃ*) who perform the duties and observances (*kriyā*)[1] prescribed by *Dharma* which is the most important and essential thing in the world (*saṃsārasāra*). This implies a spirit of toleration in religious worship that is hardly met with in such dedicatory verses. In the Kharepatan plates incised only two years before, this very prince, Raṭṭarāja, begins the inscription with adoration to Śiva (*oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*) and invokes the protection of the same god in the initial verse, and in fact, the grant there is made "for the purpose of worshipping with fivefold offerings the holy *god Avvetvara* (*Śiva*) and keeping his shrine in proper repair."[1] Then again, our inscription begins simply with *svasti* without

1 *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 293-5 and plate.

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the *praṇava* unless we take the symbol standing at the commencement as such, which is very doubtful. In the Kharepatan plates the symbol as well as the syllable *oṃ* has been used. A third important fact that deserves our notice is that, in speaking of the donees of the grant who are Brāhmaṇas, the almost universal practice of enumerating their *gotra* has been altogether neglected and absolutely no terms of respect are used towards them, they being simply referred to as Brāhmaṇas: thus we have simply "the Brāhmaṇa named Saṃjhaiya," "the Brāhmaṇī Chāṭavvaiya" and so on. There is nothing in it like those expressions of deep reverence towards the god Śiva and the Brāhmaṇas that we find in the Kharepatan plates.[1] Moreover, the grants in this inscription were not made for any religious object. Of the two gifts recorded here, one was made to the son of a Brahmin general and the other to a Brahmin girl for her maintenance. The qualification of either of the donees for the gifts is not apparent. All these facts, taken together, seem to show that in the two years that intervened since Raṭṭarāja had made the Kharepatan grant, his faith in the Brāhmaṇical form of religion had been slackening, and I think, this was under the influence of Jainism; at the same time he did not apparently like to offend the religious susceptibilities of the followers of Brāhmaṇic faith who perhaps formed the majority of his subjects; hence the colourless and rather equivocal character of the dedicatory verse. The Jaina preachers at this period manifested a great religious activity and missionary zeal in Southern India. It is well-known that during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had exercised paramount sway over the Silāras, as we learn from the Kharepatan plates, the Jainas had made great progress in Southern India and that there was a series of great Digam-

[1] Vide *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 301, ll. 50-55.

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bara Jaina teachers[1] and authors beginning with Samantabhadra, two verses by whom addressed to a prince at Karhaḍ, the capital of another branch of the Silāras, are quoted in the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā epitaph of Malliṣeṇa.[2] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign, Amoghavarṣa, who is claimed by the Jainas as a convert to their faith, was one of their greatest patrons, and during his long reign of over 62 years (from about 814-15 to 877-78) Jainism was propagated through his wide domains.[3] During the period of paramountcy of the Cālukyas who followed and to whom Raṭṭarāja owed his allegiance, at least in his earlier years, there can be no doubt that Jainism retained its prominence.[4] Just at the time of the grant, there was a great struggle going on between Śaivism and Jainism in South-western India. Cālukya Jayasiṃha II who ascended the throne about 1018 A.C., that is, seven years after the date of our record, was converted from Jainism to the Śaiva faith by the offices of his wife, Suggaladevī.[5] The Jainas had great influence at the court of the collateral branch of the Silāras reigning at Kolhapur.[6] Moreover, in the Southern Maratha country where Raṭṭarāja ruled, Jainism flourishes even at the present day.[7]

1 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* by Dr. J. F. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 406.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 186 and plate ; verses 7 and 8.

3 Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-409. We may note that Indrarāja, the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of Manyakheta died at Śrāvaṇa Belgola in 982 A.C. by taking up the Jaina vow of *Sallekhana* or voluntary starvation.—E. P. Rice, *History* of *Kanarese Literature*, p. 20.

4 *Early History of the Dekkan* by R. G. Bhandarkar, *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, p. 208.

5 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

6 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 17 and *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 102 ; see also the Kolhapur Inscriptions of Vijayāditya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 207-213.

7 R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

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That Raṭṭarāja was under Jaina influence appears from the fact that he begins his inscription without the *praṇava*, with only the *Svasti*, according to Jaina practice.[1] A mention of *Śrī* at the beginning is also met with in Jaina inscriptions.[2] It is quite possible also that some at least of the five great *maṭhas* to which Raṭṭarāja addresses his grant (line 35) were Jaina monasteries. From a consideration of all these circumstances, there is every reason to believe that at the time of making the gift recorded in these plates, Silāra Raṭṭarāja was under the influence of Jainism.

That Raṭṭarāja's political position also had undergone a remarkable change in the two short years intervening between the two grants is also quite evident. In the Kharepatan plates he glorifies the sovereigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty who had for long exercised suzerain sway over his ancestors and he passes on from them to the Cālukya Tailappa who displaced them and next to his son Satyāśraya and he makes his grant as the vassal of this great and glorious monarch *Paramabhaṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - śrī - Satyāśrayadevānudhyātamaṇḍalika-śrī-Raṭṭarāja.*[3] In the plates under review, however, not only does he make no reference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas but also to none of their successors, the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī; he mentions no paramount sovereign at all, but, on the other hand, he states that he was executing the document specifying the grant in his own dominions—*śrī-Raṭṭāryarāja-rājye.* Evidently Raṭṭarāja had thrown off his allegiance to the Cālukyas and had set himself up as an independent ruler. An examination of the history of the Western Cālukyas at this period (Śaka-saṃvat 930-932) will enable us to discover the circumstances that had made it possible for Raṭṭarāja to do so. In the first place, it appears

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, pp. 100-102; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 212.

2 For example, we have in Kolhapur Inscription of Vijyāditya, *Svasti srīr-jayaś- c- ābhyudayaś-. Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 209.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 300 and plate.

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from the Cālukya records that the Cola monarch, Ko-rājarāja Rājakeśarivarman (Śaka-saṃvat 919—*circa* 930) had inflicted a defeat upon Satyāśraya[1]; this war between the Colas and the Western Cālukyas had apparently not come to an end with the death of Rājakeśarivarman, because the Hottur plates (end of Śaka-saṃvat 988) state that Rājendra-Coladeva, his son and successor, also fought with Satyāśraya, that he having collected a force numbering nine hundred thousand had pillaged the whole country, slaughtered the women, the children and the Brāhmaṇas, and taking the girls to wife destroyed their caste.[2] During the period under review then, the empire of the Western Cālukyas was much disturbed by invasions and though the Hottur plates claim that Satyāśraya finally put the Colas to flight in A.C. 1007-1008 (i.e. Śaka-saṃvat 930), yet it appears that Satyāśraya did not live long to consolidate his empire which had been broken up by the Cola invasions, inasmuch as we find from the Kauthem plates[3] of Śaka-saṃvat 930 or 931 (probably October, A. C. 1009), that Satyāśraya's nephew, Vikramāditya V, was on the throne at the time and it is not unlikely that Vikramāditya's father Daśavarman or Yaśovarman had ruled for a short while before him. "The records do not state any history in connection with these two princes",[4] and it is apparent that they were not particularly remarkable or powerful. It is evident, therefore, that Satyāśraya died shortly after his victory and was followed by weak successors, so that once the powerful personality of Irivabedaṅga (a wonder among those who pierce their foes)[5] Satyāśraya was removed, his Maṇḍalika,

1 Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 41; vol. II, p. 13. Fleet, *Can. Dyn., Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 433.

2 Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 433, 435 (note 6), 564 (note 2).

3 Kielhorn, *List of Southern Inscriptions*, no. 150, p. 27; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 15; Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

4 Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-5.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 432.

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Raṭṭarāja, took advantage of the unsettled condition into which the Cālukya empire had been thrown by the Cola invasions, and of the immediately following death of Satyāśraya, to throw off his allegiance to the Cālukyas and set himself up as an independent king. But again, there is an anomaly. Though there is no mention of any paramount sovereign in our grant yet we read after the verse describing Raṭṭarāja himself—*tasya Mahāmaṇḍalika-śrī-Raṭṭāryarāja-rājye* (lines 32-33). Who is here referred to by *tasya*? It is apparently an error of the officer who drew up the record and it seems that while copying from similiar previous records in the royal archives, he inadvertently took in the word *tasya* usually put after the name of the paramount sovereign losing sight of the fact that no such sovereign had been mentioned in the document; that this officer was not a careful writer is amply proved by the innumerable inaccuracies of grammar and language already referred to before. The title *Mahāmaṇḍalika* had evidently been won by Raṭṭarāja since the Kharepatan plates where he is simply a *Maṇḍalika* and it was retained by him as a distinctive designation by which he had come to be familiarly known even when he threw off his allegiance to the Cālukyas. It is also possible that though Raṭṭarāja had practically thrown off the Cālukya yoke he did not venture yet to assume the full title of an independent king. We may also observe here that Raṭṭarāja's minister for war and peace who in the Kharepatan inscription was simply *Sāndhivigrahika Devapāla* has now the epithet *Mahā-śrī* added on to his designation and his name has grown from simple *Devapāla* into *Devapālārya* (lines 93-95). All these things go to prove that Raṭṭarāja's position had improved since he made the grant in 930 Ś. S. (expired).

That our king had acquired power and territory since his earlier grant also appears from the fact that in our plates he addresses himself to the people of *Nagara-Hañjamāna* of which there is no mention in the former, showing that this

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city came into Raṭṭarāja's possession after 930 Ś. S. This is the earliest mention so far known of this town, the situation of which has been much discussed ; it has been identified by Dr. J. J. Modi, though on very doubtful grounds, with Saṁjan, a place near the sea about 90 miles north of Bombay[1] ; we cannot believe that Raṭṭarāja's dominions extended so far north and think that Hañjamāna has to be looked for farther to the south.

The mention of Hañjamāna here also proves that Raṭṭarāja or his family did not long continue in possession of the power of territories that he had won ; because, only seven years later (*Śaka Saṃvat* 939 expired), we find Arikeśarin of the rival Śilāra stock of the Northern Konkana greeting "all the holy men and others inhabiting the city of Hañjamāna"[2] and a similar expression is found associated with subsequent rulers of that dynasty, as for example, in the Bhandup plates of Cittarājadeva of Śaka Saṃvat 948 (expired)[3] and the Kharepatan plates of Anantapāladeva dated Śaka Saṃvat 1016 (expired).[4] On the other hand, this expression is not found connected with those of the northern Silāras who ruled before Arikeśarin or before the time of Raṭṭarāja, as for example, it does not occur in the Bhadana plates of Aparājita (dated Śaka Saṃvat 919 expired).[5] It is, therefore, evident, that Hañjamāna and the Southern Konkana were taken over by the Northern Silāra family sometime between Śaka Saṁvat 932 and 939 ; the Southern Silāra family vanishes from sight from this period.

The grant was issued from Valipattana (lines 33-35), the capital of the dynasty, which was a great fortified town

1 Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, pp. 173-6) has summed up the discussion in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 258-9.

2 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 357 (fifth edition).

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 263.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 9 (1880), p. 33.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 271 ff.

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(*mahādurga-Valipattana*) founded by one of his ancestors, Dhammiyara (ll. 12, 13). The city appears to have been on the sea but its exact situation has remained doubtful.[1] From the copper-plate grant of Anantadeva of Śaka Saṃvat 1016 (expired), Valipattana appears to be in the possession of the North-Konkana Silāras :[2] this is an additional proof that the territories of the Southern Silāra dynasty passed into the hands of the Northern family.

The proper object of the inscription is then detailed up to line 65. Raṭṭarāja announces his gift to the people of the five great monasteries, of all places of abode[3] and of the city of Hañjamāna and also the chief officers of the crown ; when nine centuries of years increased by thirty-two (932) had expired since the time of the Śaka-king in the Jovian year called *Sādhāraṇa*, on Sunday, the date of the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti, at the Pratipada or the first tithi of the dark half of the month of Pauṣa (24th December, 1010 A.C.[4]), Raṭṭarāja who is adorned with all the kingly attributes, takes water into his own hands and makes certain gifts ; the language in this portion of the inscription is very corrupt ; there is a mixture of Sanskrit and the vernacular, and the grammatical construction is very faulty ; besides, certain words here, including the details of the land given, have been lost owing to the corners of the second plate having been broken off. Two

1 K. T. Telang, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 38, note 47 ; Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 294, note 6 and p. 295 and note 4.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 35, 38.

3 The word *Sthāna* in the Bhadana grant of Aparājita (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 269) has been translated by Dr. Kielhorn by "places of abode" and I have taken it here in a similar sense. But its use there in the phrase *grāmabhoktṛ-Sāmanta-Rājaputra - Purapati-trivargga - Sthāna-prabhṛti-pradhān-âpradhāna-janān* (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 273), seems to show that it is used in a technical sense to designate, not a place, but some official.

4 I am thankful to Mr. K. N. Dikshit who has kindly calculated this Christian equivalent of the date in the inscription.

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gifts are recorded here; one of them is the gift of some land to *Saṅkamaiya*, the son of the *Brāhmaṇa-senāvai* (i.e., Brāhmaṇa-senāpati or Brahmin general) *Nāgamaiya*: the land given to him is bounded on both sides by *Japatanabharāṣaṭva*. The other is the gift, as a *Jīvaloka* or means of livelihood, of a garden of betel-nut trees[1] to the grand-daughter of a Brāhmaṇa named *Saṃjhaiya* who was a resident of a hamlet (*vāḍī*)[2] situated to the west of the village of *Agrahāra-Palaure*;[3] the grandson of this man was *Kuṃvaraiya* whose wife (*Brāhmaṇī*) was named Chāṭavvaiya; the garden of nut-trees was bounded on the east by a temple of stone (*pāṣāṇadeulī*)[4], on the south by a river, on the west by the sea near Boribhāṭhā, and on the north by *Gācoma*. The villages and other places mentioned in this connection cannot be identified on the maps. In lines 60-65, Raṭṭarāja urges upon his successors, sons and grandsons, that this grant which is well-defined as regards its boundaries should be preserved intact free from all levies and taxes and that serious sin will accrue to any forceful possession of it; then, in lines 65-75, he quotes three of the usual verses setting forth the merits of liberal gifts and the undesirability of revoking them. Next (in lines 75-78), he threatens that if any one, even though appealed to in the above fashion, be carried away by the evil tendencies of tha Kali-age and violates the duties and obligations, coming from olden times, then he will certainly have to suffer in hell. In lines 79-84, he again quotes two of the usually repeated imprecatory verses setting forth the

1 The word in the text is *Pūga-sphalī* which is evidently an error for *Pūga-sthalī*, a place having betel-nut trees.

2 *Vāḍī* in Marathi means a hamlet.

3 *Agrahāra* itself means a village granted to Brahmins for their maintenance, so that the proper name of the village seems to have been *Palaure*.

4 The word might also be read *dehalī* in which case it would mean a stone-barrier; *dehalī* properly means the lintel or the threshhold.

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punishments in store for the person who interferes with such grants in any way and then he proceeds to add that keeping those words of the sages in mind, all future kings should aim at the acquisition of the merit of keeping up old gifts and should desist from staining themselves with the guilt of revoking them. He again, in confirmation of the gift, reiterates, in lines 88-90, that he puts with his own hand his proper signature and vouches for its genuineness. The inscription then concludes (lines 90-92), as in the Kharepatan plates, with a verse enumerating the requisites of a valid grant and followed by a statement that it was written by "*Lokapārya*," the son of the glorious and great minister of peace and war, the "*Mahāsāndhivigrahika Devapāla*". This is the very same man who, as we have observed before, wrote the Kharepatan plates. A line is added on the reverse side of the third plate stating that this "*dāna-pāṭa*" or plate of grant should not be stolen and this brings the inscription to an end.

TEXT

First Plate

1. [1] Svasti [||]• Śrīr=api vipul=āptād[2]=abhima-
2. ta-devatā-prasādena | Saṃsāra-sā-
3. ra-dharmma-kriyāvatāṃ[3] prāṇināṃ sa-

---

1 There is a symbol at the beginning somewhat resembling the one in the Kharepatan plates, but it is doubtful if it can be read for *oṃ* as Dr. Kielhorn has done.

2 The verb *āptāt* with *Srī* in the nominative case does not give correct grammatical construction.

3 The sign of *anusvāra* in *kriyāvatāṃ* is placed just after *na* of *prasādena* in the preceding line and appears at first sight to make up a *visarga* after it.

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4. tatam ||[1] Āsīd = Vidyādhar = âdhīśo
5. Garutmad = datta-jīvitaḥ[2] [ı*] *Jīmūtakętoḥ* sa-
6. tputro nāmnā *Jīmūtavāhanaḥ* || Tataḥ
7. SILĀRA-vaṃśo = 'bhūt SIMHALA-kṣmābhṛtāṃ vara-
8. ḥ | Prabhūta-bhūta-saubhāgya-bhāgyavāṃs = tatra c = ô-
9. rjjitaḥ[3] || Nāmnā SAṆAPHULLAH[4] khyātaḥ KṚ-
10. ṢṆARĀJA-prasādavān | Samudra-tīra-SAHYĀ-
11. nta deśa-saṃsādhako nṛpaḥ[5] || Tat-suto dharmma
12. ev = âbhūn = nāmnā DHAMMIYARAH paraḥ || Pratā-
13. pavān = mahādurgga-VALIPATTANA-kṛt kṛtī
14. || Tasmād = AIYAPARĀJO = 'bhūd = vijigīṣu-
15. r = [6]guṇānvitaḥ | Snātaś = CANDRAPUR-âsanna-nā-
16. likerāmbunā sa yaḥ || Babhūv = ĀVA [SA*][7] RAS = ta-
17. smān = nīti-śāstrārtha-tat[t*]vavit | Eka-ne-
18. tra[8]-pralagnâri-kāṇḍaś = caṇḍa-parākramaḥ ||
19. ĀDITYAVARMMĀ putrô = 'bhūt = tejas = âdityava-
20. t = tataḥ | Tasmād = AVASAR-ĀRVO = 'bhū[9] = [j*]jitāri-
21. r = dharmmavān = nṛpaḥ || CEMULYA-CANDRAPURA-ja—
22. kṣmā-bhṛt-sāhāyya-kārakāt[10] | Tatô = 'bhū-

---

1 Metre Āryā, but not quite regular. In the first line there are only twenty-five mātrās or syllabic instants instead of at least twenty-seven required by the rules. Taking *svasti* with the first line there would be 27 *mātrās*, but it is separated from the verse by double marks of punctuation.

2 Our text here is more correct than the Kharepatan plates which read *garutma-datta-jīvitaḥ*.

3 The Kharepatan plates have *bhāgyavān-urjjit-orjitaḥ*.

4 Our text shows clearly that the reading *jhalaphulla* by Pandit Bal Gangadhar Sastri who had edited the Kharepatan inscription for the first time in the *Journal* of the *B. Br.* of the *R.A. Society*, vol. I, p. 209 ff., was wrong, and that Kielhorn's reading *Sanaphulla* is correct.

5 The Kharepatan plates have *Saṃsādhano 'bhavat*.

6 There is no sign of *r* over *gu* in the Kharepatan plates.

7 The *sa* in the name Avasara has been omitted by an error of the engraver.

8 *Netra* is quite clear here.

9 The Kh. inscription has *Avasaro jāto*.

10 The Kh. plates have *sāhāyyam-adād-yaḥ* : the change in our text has made some improvement in the metre.

Valipattana Plates of Silāra Raṭṭarāja

PLATE III (obverse)

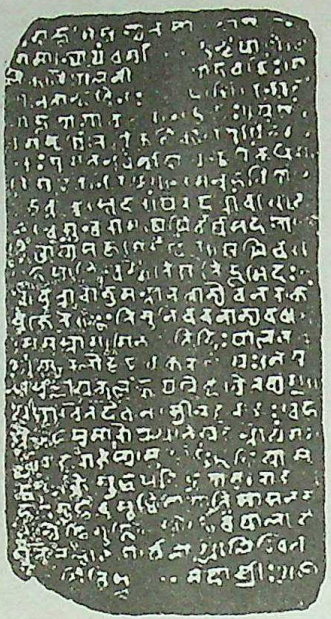
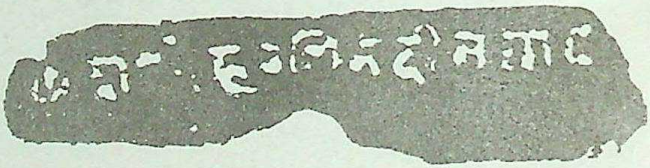


PLATE III (reverse)



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Valipattana Plates of Silāra Raṭṭaraja

PLATE I

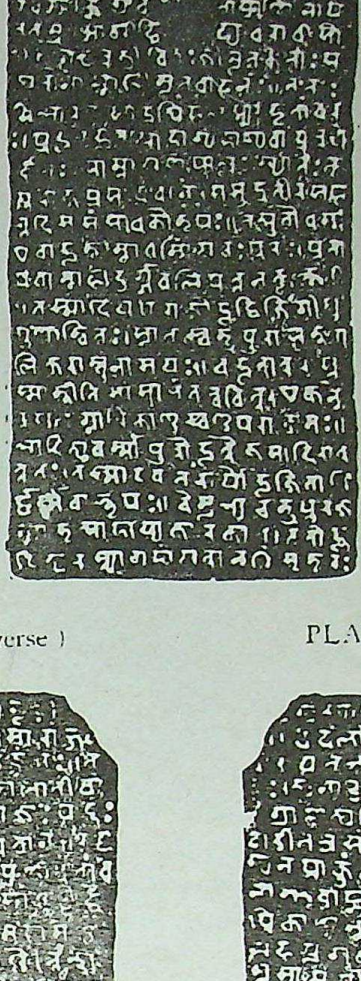

PLATE II (obverse)

PLATE II (reverse)

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23. d = INDRARA(RĀ)[JA*]S = tyāga = bhogavān = ati-
sundaraḥ[1] [॥*]

Second Plate : Obverse

24. [Ta*] smāt = prabhūta-bhāgyô = 'bhūd = BHĪ [MO Bhī*]-
25. mābha-vikramaḥ । Tejasā Rāhu [va*]
26. d = grasta-candramaṇḍala-ujjvalaḥ ॥ Ta-
27. taś = c = ĀVASARO rājā jāto = 'tība (va)-
28. vivekavān । Prājñaḥ prājñaḥ paṭuḥ
29. sū (śū) ro dhīraḥ parama-rūpavān[2] । RAṬṬA-
30. nām = âbhavat = tasmād = rājā puṇyavatāṃ va-
31. raḥ । NItijño nīti-śāstr = ârtha-vṛddha-
32. sevī jitendriyaḥ ॥ Tasya mahāmaṇḍa-
33. lika-śrī-RAṬṬĀRYA-rāja-rājye । Candrā =
34. rkka-pravarddhamāne pūjye śrī-VALIPATTA-
35. NE ॥ Pañca-mahā-maṭha-sthāna-nagara-HA-
36. ÑJAMĀNA[3]-pradhānâmātya-vargaḥ saṃvi-
37. ditam (taḥ)[4] ॥ ŚAKA-NṚPA-KĀL-ĀTĪTA-SA-
38. MVATSARA[5]-NAVAŚATEṢU DVĀTRIN (M) ŚAD = ADHI-
39. KEṢV = AṄKATO = 'PI 932 SĀDHĀRAṆA-SA-
40. [MVA] TSAR[6] = ĀNTARGATA-PUṢYA-VAHULA-PRATI-

---

1 The Kh. plates have for this line *tato-'bhavad-Indrarājas-tyāga-bhog-âtisundaraḥ*; in our text *bhoga* has been improved into *bhogavān*, but on the other hand, the name of *Indrarāja* has been contracted into *Indrara* for the exigencies of metre; another syllable has been saved by substituting *abhūt* for *abhavat*.

2 This line stands as *Prājñaḥ prājña-jan-āvāsaḥ śūraḥ parama-rūpavān* in the Kh. plates.

3 The name of this city is spelt *Hanyamana* in the Thana plates of Arikeśarin (Śaka Saṃvat 939), *Haṃyamana* in the Bhandup plates of Cittarājadeva (Śaka Saṃvat 948) and *Haṃjamana* in the Kharepatan plates of Anantapāladeva (Śaka Saṃvat 1016). For references see *ante*.

4 We expect here a phrase like *astu vaḥ Saṃviditam*; instead, we have a confusion of two constructions.

5 Read *Saṃvatsara*.

6 Read *Saṃvatsara*. Śaka Saṃvat 930 in the Kharepatan inscription was a *Kīlaka-saṃvatsara* as we have it there; this is the forty-

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41. PADI RAVI-VĀRE UTTARĀYAṆA-SAMKRĀ-
42. NTAU samasta-rāj = âvalī-samalaṅkṛ-
43. taḥ (ta)-śrī-RAṬṬARĀJENA sva-hastena hast-ô-
44. dakaṃ kṛtvā Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-senāvaï[1]-NĀGA-
45. MAIYA-suta-SAṄKAMAIYASYA KALVĀLA-
46. *BHAKTA-grāmād = Vāiṅgaṇa[2]-kṣetra-*

Second Plate : Reverse

47. * * s = tasy = âbhidhānam | JAVALE * * *
48. * ‖ Ca VALOṬHĪ[3] atra ubhayata-
49. [ḥ*] ‖ JAPATANABHARĀṢATVA[4]-maryā-
50. daḥ | Anyac = ca | AGRAHĀRA-PALAU-
51. RE-grāmāt paścimāyām = ĀVAḌI nāma
52. vāḍī tatra SAMJHAIYA nāma Vrā (Brā)hmaṇas = ta-
53. sya naptā KUṂVARAIYASYA[5] ca CHĀṬHAVVAIYA-
54. nāmā[6] Vrā (Brā)hmaṇī tena ca[7] svakīya-na-

---

second year in the Jovian cycle of sixty years; the forty-third year (Ś. S. 931) would be named *Saumya*, and the designation *Sādhāraṇa* for the next following year, Śaka Saṃvat 932 of our plates, is in accord with the usual nomenclature.

1 *Senāvaï* is the proper Prākṛt form of Sanskrit *Senāpati* and apparently the Brāhmaṇa Nāgamaiya was a general. The sign of *ā* in *nā* is very clear on the plate, otherwise we might read the word as *Senavaï* or *Senavi*, the designation of a well-known class of Brahmins in the Bombay Presidency.

2 *Vāiṅgana* may be an amplification of *Vāngi* which in Mārāṭhi means a brinjal or egg-plant.

3 Both the upper corners of this plate have got broken off, so that several letters have been entirely lost. *Valoṭhī* in line 48 is evidently the same as the Mārāṭhi word Valathi, i.e., the land as it rises from the coast towards the foot of the Sahyādri range opposed to Khalati, the descending country (Molesworth—*Marathi English* Dictionary).

4 The word may be read *Jayatana-bharāṣatva*.

5 Read *naptuḥ Kuṃvariyasya*.

6 Read nāmnī.

7 The sentence beginning with *tena ca* is very corrupt.

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55. ptikā anūṇasvarūpeṇa sīmāra-
56. saha pūga-ṣphalī[1] jīvaloko datta-
57. s = tasya maryyādā । Pūrvvataḥ pāṣa(ṣā)ṇa-de-
58. ulī[2] Dakṣiṇata[3] nadī । Paścimataḥ
59. Boribhāṭhā[4]-samīpa-samudraḥ । Uttara-
60. taḥ(to) Gācoma । Iti suprasiddha-maryyā-
61. da(dā)-viśuddhaḥ śrī-RAṬṬARĀJA-putra-pautrai-
62. [r*] = etac = ca putra-pautrebhyaḥ namasya-rūpe-
63. ṇa sarvva-pariharaṃ pratipālanīyam ।
64. Etad = apaharaṇe mahān = doṣaḥ saṃpadya-
65. te ॥ Uktañ = ca munibhiḥ[5] । Yānî = ha dattā-
66. ni purā narendrair = dānāni dharmm = ârtha-ya-
67. śaskarāṇi । Nirmālya-vāntaḥ (nta)-prati-
68. māni tāni ko nāma sādhuḥ punar = ā-
69. dadīta ॥ Va (Ba) hubhir = vasudhā bhuktā r [ā*]-
70. [ja*] bhiḥ Sagarâdibhiḥ । Yasya ya[sya*]

Third Plate : Obverse

71. [ya*] dā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phala [m ॥*]
72. [Sā*] mānyô = 'yaṃ dharmma-setur = nṛpāṇāṃ । [Kā*]-
73. le kāle pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ । Sa-
74. rvān = etān = bhāvinaḥ pārthivendrān = bhū-
75. yo bhūyo yācate Rāmabhadraḥ ॥ yas = tv = e-
76. vam = abhyarthito = 'pi Kalikāla-gupita[6]-mana-
77. skaḥ purātana-dharmma-dāya-luptiṃ kariṣya-
78. ti sa eva niraya-phalam = anubhaviṣyati
79. ॥ Uktañ = ca । Sva-dattāṃ paradattāṃ vā yo ha-
80. reta vasundharām । ṣaṣṭir (ṭiṃ) = varṣa-sahasrāṇi

---

1 Read *pūgasthalī.* 2 This may be read as *dehalī.*

3 Read *dakṣiṇato.*

4 This means the sea below the low-water mark at the mouth of a creek.

5 These benedictive and imprecatory verses with some additional ones, and a few immaterial changes, occur also in the Kharepatan plates.

6 *Muṣita* in the Kharepatan plates.

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81. viṣṭhāyāṃ sa kṛmir = bhavet ॥ Saṣṭir (ṭiṃ) = varṣa-
82. sahasrāṇi svargge tiṣṭhati bhūmidaḥ ॥
83. Ācchettā c = ânumantā ca tāny = eva narakaṃ
84. vrajet ॥ Iti muni-vacanāny = avadhārya
85. । Samast = âgāmi-nṛpatibhiḥ pālana-dha-
86. rmma-phala-lobha eva karaṇīyaḥ । Na pu-
87. nas = tal-lopa-kalaṅka-parair = bbhavitavyam ॥
88. Yathā c = aitad = evam । Śrī-Raṭṭarājaḥ sva-ha-
89. ste svahastam = āropayati svahastô = 'yaṃ mama
90. Śrī Raṭṭarājasya । Mudrā-śuddhaṃ kriyā-śu-
91. ddhaṃ bhukti-śuddhaṃ sacihṇakam । Rāja-sva-
92. hasta-śuddhaṃ tu śuddhim = āyāti śāsanam ।
93. Sāndhi-vigrahika-śrī-Devapālârya-
94. sutena Loka [pā] rya-nāmnā likhita-
95. [m = ida*][1] m = iti ma [ṃgalaṃ*][2] mahā-ṣrīḥ ॥[3]

Third Plate : Reverse

96. Alaṃ haraṇena dāna-pāṭa (sya*)[4]

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR

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1 The plate here is broken.

2 The letters have worn away. Our reading of *maṃgalam* is only a guess.

3 There is a symbol like a circle at the end.

4 This appeal against the stealing of the plates is rather peculiar.

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Vasubandhu and the Vādavidhi

In a well-known article[1] Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana expressed the view that Uddyotakara, the famous Nyāya commentator, knew the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti which he cited in his *Nyāyavārttika* on i, 1, 33 as *Vādavidhi*. He reinforced this view by holding that Uddyotakara knew also the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*, which he cites (on i, 1, 33 and 41) in respect of the definition of *pakṣa* and *vāda* respectively, and that the Tibetan translation of the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* of Vinītadeva proves to contain passages substantially identical with those cited by Uddyotakara. The result of this argument is, of course, important in that it establishes, when taken in conjunction with the fact that Uddyotakara seems to be known to Dharmakīrti, the contemporaneity of the two writers, who may be referred to in immediate proximity in a pun of Subandhu's in his *Vāsavadattā*.[2]

To this view exception is taken in an interesting article[3] by H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, who contends that the reference to the *Vādavidhi* is to a work by the well-known Vasubandhu. He holds that the difference of name, *Vādavidhi* and *Vādanyāya*, tells strongly against the identification, but this can hardly be deemed a conclusive ground; there are far too many cases known in which works bear more than one title, and apart from that, even in modern days of libraries and easy access to titles, errors in citation of books by name are not rare. Nor can we say that the definition of *pratijñā* cited from the *Vādavidhi* "bears only a semblance of similarity to that given by Dharmakīrti in his *Vādanyāya*." As the author himself proceeds to show, a literal rendering of the Tibetan gives us the words *pratijñā ca sādhyābhidhānāt* which

1 JRAS., 1914, pp. 601-6. 2 Keith, JRAS., 1914, pp. 1102 f.
3 JBORS., xii, 587-91.

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for all purposes is identical with the *sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñā* of the citation from the *Vādavidhi*. It appears, therefore, that the attempt to disprove the reference to the *Vādanyāya* is inadequate. Mr. Iyengar adduces as a further argument the fact that on this identification of the *Vādavidhi*, the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* must be identified with the work of Vinītadeva, which is objectionable on the score of the late date of that author. He seems not to know that Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana definitely accepted this identification and supported it by citation of the Tibetan renderings in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*; this is doubtless due to the fact that this point is passed over in the *History of Indian Logic* and is only set out in the article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. As a matter of fact, we are not in a position definitely to determine the date of Vinītadeva from any external evidence; that brought forward in the *History of Indian Logic* (p. 320) claims no special value, and before the theory of the use of Vinītadeva by Uddyotakara can be definitely disposed of, it will be necessary to deal with the two citations which Dr. Vidyabhusana claimed to identify. It must be added that it can hardly be doubted that the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* must be intended to be a comment on the *Vādavidhi*, a point which illustrates the fact that slight variants of name without essential change of sense may be taken for legitimate in Indian works.

Mr. Iyenger's own view would see in the *Vādavidhi* a work of Vasbandhu; on the question of the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* he is silent, though obviously it is not advisable to seek to separate the two issues; his position would have been enormously strengthened had he been able to point to a commentary on the *Vādavidhi* of Vasubandhu which was referred to by Uddyotakara. Moreover it must be admitted that, as the author very fairly points out, the Tibetan title of the work which he has adduced would normally and properly be rendered *Vādasiddhi*, which is by no means the same as

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Vādavidhi, and that the rendering *Vādavidhi* rests on the translation of the Chinese title *Ronki* of a work of Vasubandhu as *Vādavidhi*. But, this apart, the evidence on which the claim is made that Vasubandhu's work is referred to is wholly indirect. Mr. Iyengar has not adduced any definition of *pratijñā* ascribed to Vasubandhu's *Vādavidhi* (*Vādasiddhi*); on the contrary, all that he can point out is that Uddyotakara criticises two definitions of *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, which are apparently the same as those criticised by Dignāga in his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (to judge from the Tibetan version), and the comment on that work ascribes them to the *Vādavidhi*, without naming any author. On the other hand, Vācaspati in the case of the definition of *pratyakṣa* ascribes it to Vasubandhu. The argument, therefore, is: Uddyotakara cites a definition of *pratijñā* from a *Vādavidhi*; he deals with definitions of *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, which appear apparently in the same shape in the Tibetan version of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and by its comment are ascribed to a *Vādasiddhi* or possibly *Vādavidhi*, and one of these definitions is definitely ascribed to Vasubandhu by Vācaspati; therefore "we can safely conclude" that the *Vādavidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara is the work of Vasubandhu. There are, it is clear, far too many gaps in this reasoning, and nothing convincing can be adduced unless and until the question of the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* is faced at the same time.

When we consider that text difficulties do not lessen. The theory of Dr. Vidyabhusana is clear, and is supported by the passages which he cites from the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, which has definitions of *pakṣa* and of *vāda* corresponding to those ascribed absolutely clearly in the first case, and with much probability in the second, to the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*. Other authorities do not recognise that the second reference is to that work, but unquestionably, as will be shown below, that is a legitimate inference from the discussion, and it is very greatly strengthened by the coincidence of the occurrence

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of the passage in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*. As regards the first passage, there is an interesting suggestion by Dr. Randle in his *Fragments from Diṅnāga* that the author may be Dignāga; unfortunately he does not appear to know the article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The position would then be that Vasubandhu wrote the *Vādavidhi*, and that Dignāga corrected it in the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*, and this view would, of course, have the great advantage over that of Mr. Iyengar in that it would solve the whole problem and not leave it but half answered. It is, therefore, desirable to submit this theory to a critical investigation as far as our scanty sources permit.

There is, of course, one strong objection to any such view, viz., the absence of any evidence of the writing by Dignāga of a commentary on the *Vādavidhi* of Vasubandhu, assuming that Vasubandhu did write a treatise of that name. This point is not absolutely decisive, but it prevents us feeling any certainty regarding the proposed explanation, even if other matters did not tell against it. Nor is the rest of the evidence satisfactory. Dr. Ganganath Jha[1] holds that the *Vādavidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara is a work of Subandhu, and he finds another reference to it in the *Nyāyavārttika* (p. 157, line 17) by reading there *śāstratvena ca vādavidhānam abhyupagamyate* for the *vādābhidhānam* of the recorded text. The amendment may be tempting, but it is clearly illegitimate, for as Dr. Randle (p. 55, n. 2) admits, the accepted text makes sense, and, it may be added, the corruption supposed has no obvious explanation, so that on any sound principle of textual criticism this passage must be ignored in this connection. The ground for ascribing the *Vādavidhi* to Subandhu is thus gravely impugned, for its justification rested (1) on the fact that Vācaspati (p. 218, line 9) ascribes the definition of *vāda* given by Uddyotakara (p. 151, line 20) to Subandhu (*Saubandhavaṃ lakṣaṇam*) and (2) on the amendment

1 See his translation, i, 441 and 454 notes.

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of *vādābhidhānam* to *vādavidhānam*. If this conjecture be laid aside, as it must properly be, the ascription to Subandhu of the *Vādavidhi* is purely conjectural. Moreover, as against Dr. Ganganath Jha's view must be set the fact that he conjectures[1] that the definition of *pakṣa* given in the *Nyāyavārttika* (p. 116, line 14) as *yaḥ sādhayitum iṣṭaḥ* is that of Subandhu. But the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*, as cited by Uddyotakara, is absolutely clear in indicating that the word *svayam* was contained in the definition which it defended, and, therefore, it is most improbable that Subandhu was the author of the *Vādavidhi*, if Dr. Ganganath Jha's ascription of the definition without *svayam* to him is correct. It must be added that there seems no ground for the ascription.

But one fact emerges from this mass of conjectures. Vācaspati definitely refers to Subandhu the definition of *vāda* cited anonymously in Uddyotakara (p. 151), but by Dr. Vidyabhusana ascribed to the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* and identified with a passage in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* in its Tibetan rendering. On this identification one doubt presents itself, which should be noted; Uddyotakara (p. 124, line 9) has an almost identical definition of *vāda*, in which *svaparapakṣasiddhyasiddhyartham* in p. 151 is replaced by *svaparapakṣayoḥ siddhyasiddhyartham*. It is just possible that the Tibetan rendering could be made applicable to this definition of p. 124 as opposed to that of p. 151, and it may be argued that the occurrence of the phrase at p. 124, in comparatively close proximity to the citation of the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* at p. 120, is in favour of the view that the citation at p. 124 rather than that at p. 151 is from that work. However that may be, and it may be presumed that Dr. Vidyabhusana decided against this possiblity, though he does not mention the point, there remains the question of who Subandhu was. Both Dr. Ganganath Jha[2] and Dr. Vidyabhusana[3] identify him

1 i, 331.
2 i, 441; but compare i, 394.
3 *History of Indian Logic*, p. 128.

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with Vasubandhu, the former, it is true, with some hesitation. Dr. Randle[1] holds that the reasonable supposition is that "in these passages (i.e. those in which *Saubandhavaṃ lakṣaṇam* is referred to) Vācaspati abbreviates Vasubandhu to Subandhu, just as he invariably speaks of Dharmakīrti as Kīrti". The parallelism is not complete, for admittedly Vācaspati (p. 99, line 13) cites as *Vāsubandhavam pratyakṣalakṣaṇam* the definition of *pratyakṣa* given in the *Nyāyavārttika* (p. 42, line 15), and the question, therefore, arises why in certain cases he should use an abbreviated form. But far more serious is the character of the abbreviated form. That Kīrti should be used for Dharmakīrti, or Hari for Bhartṛhari, or Siṃha for Vikramasiṃha or Gupta for Candragupta, and so forth is obvious and natural, but that without reason a man's name should be reduced from Vasubandhu to Subandhu is extremely hard to credit, and indeed may be dismissed as out of the question. It remains only for those who hold this view to suggest not an abbreviation but a variant name, and it is, to be frank, extremely implausible to urge that the same author should in the same work use the regular name of a famous author, and also a name which never is elsewhere applied to him, and which, it must be added, is not equivalent in sense.

It must, accordingly, in my opinion be admitted that the evidence is lamentably inadequate to overthrow the view of Dr. Vidyabhusana. Unquestionably on chronological grounds there is some reason to doubt the use by Uddyotakara of Vinītadeva, but, if the matter is to be established in any other sense than that adopted by Dr. Vidyabhusana, new evidence must be adduced, and this note has been written in order to indicate the lacunæ in the existing evidence. It is hardly necessary to add that no confirmation of the use of Subandhu for Vasubandhu is to be found in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* (iii, 2, 2). If we wish to find Vasubandhu,

1 *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, p. 26.

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there we have simply to alter the *ca* before *Subandhu* into *va*, whereas no such correction is possible in any of the passages where Vācaspati refers to Subandhu[1] or *Saubandhavaṃ lakṣaṇam.*

It may further be concluded that we have no adequate evidence for the identification of Subandhu with Vasubandhu, a result which is of importance because, apart from this identification, Vasubandhu, according to our present knowledge plays a much less prominent part in the early history of Buddhist logic than would be the case if we could securely[2] assign to him the *Vādavidhi*, the definition of *vāda*, and *pratijñā*, and assume that he was a predecessor of Dignāga in his criticism of the views of proposition, reason and exemplification given in the *Nyāyasūtra.* All these things may be true, but for the time being they are conjectures, which do not square with the scanty evidence actually available. We do know his definition of perception, and frankly it cannot be said to reveal him as a profound logician. Dignāga seems to record that he did not specialise in this topic, though he may largely have inspired that acute logician. Professor Stcherbatsky's suggestion[3] that he may have adumbrated the doctrine of the affinity of perception to inference, and so have evoked the polemic of the *Nyāyasūtra* (ii, 1, 30), can hardly be regarded as convincing ; assuming that the passage in question formed part of the original text, there is nothing whatever to induce us to fix on the exact form of the doctrine against which the Nyāya contended. There was unquestionably in ancient India a vast activity of thought which is only hinted at in the tantalising brevity and obscurity of the Sūtras of the philosophic schools, and we run serious risks of misconstruing the facts if we seek unduly to simplify the history of thought.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

1 p. 205, line 26. 2 *Fragments from Dinnāga*, pp. 27, 28.

3 *La théorie de la connaissance et de la logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs*, p. 197, n. 3. For Dignāga's view, *ibid.*, p. 2.

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The Study of Ancient Indian Geography

For an intelligent study of the history of any country, a thorough knowledge of its geography is indispensable. It is impossible for the student to follow the course of events unless he has accurate information about the precise location of the various places which figure prominently in the narrative. Besides, no scientific historian of a country can overlook the immense influence which its physical features exercise over the character of its people and their political destiny. If the above remarks are applicable to modern history, they apply with still greater force to the ancient history of a country like India with its references to tribes, territories, rivers, mountains and cities whose names have long passed out of current use. Indeed, in the case of India it is not merely the political historian who finds a knowledge of geography to be absolutely essential. The student of social history who reads about the distinctive usages of *Udīcya*, *Śiṣṭadeśa* and *Dakṣiṇāpatha* in the Dharma Sūtras will find it difficult to follow the text unless he knows the exact signification of those terms. The student of literary history must learn to distinguish between *Gauḍa* and *Vidarbha*, *Mahārāṣṭra* and *Śūrasena*, to name only a few provinces which gave their names to distinct styles of poetic composition and different kinds of popular speech. More than the political, social and literary historian, the student of religion and mythology will feel at every step the need of a thorough acquiantance with the divine rivers and mountains which receive to this day the homage of the faithful, and those Dharma-kṣetras and Puṇya-sthānas which even now attract pilgrims from the remotest corners of the country. A knowledge of space, no less than that of time, of geography no less than that of chronology, is an indispensable prerequisite of a serious historical study. It is, therefore, needless to

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emphasise the necessity of the study of the historical geography of Ancient India.

The original materials for the study of ancient Indian geography are supplied principally from the following sources :—

(1) Indigenous texts on geography.
(2) Incidental references extracted from Indian works of a non-geographical character.
(3) Inscriptions and coins.
(4) Foreign accounts.

(1) Independent Indian treatises dealing with geography are by no means common. A list of such works is given by Mr. S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī in the Indian Antiquary, 1921, p. 123. But they have not been sufficiently examined and it is difficult to say how many of them may be accepted as genuine. Compositions of a geographical character are, however, not unoften found embedded in the religious, legendary and astrological literature of ancient India. One of the earliest and most remarkable compositions of this type is the famous river hymn of the Ṛgveda (x, 75). Not less remarkable are the sections of the Atharvaveda (xix, 17, 1-9) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii, 14) referring to the five-fold division of India. Fuller details are given in the two great epics, each of which contains a number of chapters which give a fairly accurate description of India with its territorial divisions. In the Rāmāyaṇic account, for instance, of the search parties of monkeys sent in quest of Sītā, given in four cantos (40—43) of the *Kiṣkindhyā kāṇḍa*, we have a detailed survey of the tribes, rivers, towns and hermitages of the five great regions of India. In the *Digvijaya* and *Tīrthayātrā* sections of the sister epic we have details of a similar character. More professedly geographical are the *Jambukhaṇḍavinirmāṇa Parva* (Mbh., vi, 5-9) of the Mahābhārata and the corresponding sections of the Purāṇas and the Kāvyamīmāṃsā styled *Jambudvīpavarṇana*, *Bhuvana-koṣa* or *Bhuvana-vinyāsa* and *Deśavibhāga*. Of the same type but of inferior value, is the

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Kūrma-vibhāga or *Kūrma-niveśa* section of Purāṇic and astrological works like the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (ch. 58), the Bṛhat-saṃhitā and the Parāśara Tantra.

As pointed out by Pargiter (J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 231) "there is plenty of the fabulous in Hindu geography, but it is confined, as a rule, to outside lands and the allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober." The most serious difficulty in the way of utilising the Epic and Purāṇic accounts is the corruption of the texts. About a thousand years ago Alberuni complained (i, 238) "Such is the custom of the copyists and scribes in every nation. I cannot declare the students of the Purāṇas to be free from it, for they are not men of exact learning." The Bṛhat-saṁhitā is undoubtedly more free from textual corruption. The section called *Kūrma-vibhāga* correctly mentions *Mekalāmbaṣṭha* and *Puṇḍrotkala* while the corresponding passage of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa has *Mekhalāmuṣṭa* and *Purṇotkata*. But, as pointed out by Fleet, the Kūrma-vibhāga list "does not furnish materials for preparing an accurate map of ancient India. Mistakes in details can easily be shown, e.g. though Varāhamihira places Kaccha and Girinagara both in the southern division, he locates Raivataka in the south-west; whereas this mountain is quite close to Girinagara (Junagaḍh) and the Girnār mountain and is considerably to the south of Cutch,"

Descriptions of India, and particulary of its central region, are also found in Buddhist literature. Of a slightly different character is the Jaina account of "Milikka" and "Āriya" lands found in the Pannavanā and other Upāṅgas (cf. the Mārkaṇḍeya passage 57, 15 "Tair vimiśrā janapadā mlecchāś cāryāś ca bhāgaśaḥ"). The name of the sixth Upāṅga called Jambuddvivapannatti, however, reminds us of the *Jambudvīpavarṇana* of the Brāhmaṇical texts.

(2) Besides long texts of a decidedly geographical character, Indian literature, both religious and secular, contains numerous isolated references to countries and cities, rivers and

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mountains, forests and deserts "which collectively amount to a considerable addition to geographical knowledge." Of special value are the references in the Jātakas, the Vinaya texts, the Aṅguttara Nikāya, the Sutta Nipāta, the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, the Dhammapada commentary, the Paramattha Jotikā, the Divyāvadāna, the Mahāvastu, the Jaina Sūtras, the early Tamil poems, the grammatical works of Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kramadīśvara, the Kāvyas of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin, the Dharmasūtra of Bodhāyana, the Dharmaśāstra of Manu, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Kāmaśāstra of Vātsyāyana, Nātyaśāstra of Bharata, the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara and the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. Important information is also given in lexicographies like the Amarakoṣa, the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi and the Abhidhānappadipikā.

(3) Inscriptions and coins constitute the third class of materials for ancient Indian geography. They are hardly less important to the student of Indian geography than to the student of Indian history. They not only afford us glimpses of the historical map of India in definite epochs, but supplement the information and advance the knowledge derived from literary sources. Who would ever have heard of the kingdoms of Satiyaputra and Ḍavāka, and the province of Vārakamaṇḍala, but for the inscriptions of Asoka and Samudragupta and the copper-plate grants of Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva? Who would, again, have perceived the intimate connection between the city of Madhyamikā and the country of the Śibis but for certain coins discovered near Chitor?

(4) We now turn to the fourth and last class of materials viz. foreign accounts. Valuable information about India is given by numerous travellers, historians, geographers and even rulers of foreign nationalities. The name Hindu (Hidu) for instance is first met with in an inscription of a foreign potentate whose dominions extended from the Indus to the Ægean. If we omit the obscure references to Ophir and

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Sophir (Sovīra or Sauvīra ?) in the Bible, the Persians are the earliest foreign people to leave an account of India. Mention is made of this country and some of its rivers and provinces in the Āvestā and the inscriptions of Darius, the potentate to whom we have just referred.

The next foreign people who wrote about India are the Greeks. Writers of this nationality are valuable guides for a period covering about seven centuries from the time of Hekataios to that of Klaudios Ptolemaios. The officers of Alexander and his Seleukidan successors in particular have done much to illumine the darkness enveloping the ancient geography of Northern India, and particularly of the Land of the Five Rivers, the scene of the exploits of 'Philip's warlike son' and his Syrian and Bactrian successors. The Romans and their Greek subjects in Egypt who navigated the Indian ocean and maintained commercial or diplomatic relations with this country in the early centuries of the Christian era, throw much light on the topography of the Western seaboard and the land of pepper, pearls and beryls in the Far South. The most valuable additions to our knowledge are made by the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea and the Christian monk of Alexandria who bore the name of Kosmos Indikopleustes. The store of information gathered by the mariners of the period was evidently utilised by Strabo, Pliny and the compiler of the Peutingerian Tables.

But it is to the Chinese pilgrims, and particularly to Fa Hien, Song-yun, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, that we are indebted for the most detailed information about the historic sites of the Indian interior and the countries under its cultural sway. It is a just observation of Cunningham that the pilgrimage of Yuan Chwang "forms an epoch of as much interest and importance for the ancient history and geography of India, as the expedition of Alexander the Great."

The last notable Chinese pilgrim to visit India was

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U-kong who travelled in the eighth century. It is fortunate that the time when the light from the Chinese records began to fail, light was vouchsafed from another source viz. the narratives of Muslim writers. Almost every Muslim observer from Sulaiman to Abul Fazl has something interesting to say about the topography of ancient (and not merely of mediæval) India. The greatest of the Islamic writers is perhaps Al-beruni whose Tahqiq-i-Hind was written in 1030 A.D. The account of Al-beruni is valuable not only because it embodies the personal observations of an intelligent foreigner who actually visited this country, but also because it affords us a glimpse into the geographical texts of the Purāṇas available to him, which had already undergone much corruption in his day, i.e. as early as the eleventh century A.D.

The accounts of Muslim writers are supplemented by the records of mediæval European writers like Marco Polo. The Tibetan chroniclers (cf. Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 64) give little geographical information about the Indian interior that is not available elsewhere.

The known date of most of the foreign writers makes their evidences particularly interesting, and enables the geographer to note the changes in the map of India from age to age. The most serious defect of the non-Indian accounts is the distortion of names due either to the mis-hearing of the Indian sounds or the various transcriptions through which they have come down to us, which makes the work of identification particularly difficult. Another shortcoming which is most noticeable in the work of Klaudious Ptolemaios is the distortion of the shape of India. But this blemish must be shared by those indigenous writers who likened India to a lotus flower or compared its shape to that of a *Kūrma* or tortoise.

A list of pioneers in the field of ancient Indian geographical studies is given by Mr. S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī in his edition of Cunningham's great work (pp. xviif). The following names deserve to be added to the list :—

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Edward Thomas, Weber, Bühler, Burgess, Abbott, Holdich, Fleet, Oldham, Rhys Davids, Gerini, Stein, S. Lévi, Foucher, Hultzsch, Kanakasabhai Pillay, Menon, A Barua, Nobin Chandra Das and Manomohan Chakravarti.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI

Rāḍha or the Ancient Ganga-raṣṭra

III

Ancient Gāngê, therefore, could be nothing else than the modern Saptagrāma.[1] Mr. Irving was nearer the mark than any one else in his attempt to find out the position of Gāngê. He says, "The town of Ganges, situated at no great distance from Calcutta, was a grand emporium for Bengal,"[2] but he does not identify it with any place. Saptagrāma, now called Sātgāon, is situated at a distance of two miles to the north of the town of Hughli, and it satisfies the three conditions mentioned above. It was situated on the Ganges at the point from which the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā branched off towards the south and the east respectively. The remains of ancient Saptagrāma are still to be found by the side of the Ganges and on the east bank of the Sarasvatī, through which once flowed the main stream of the Ganges.[3] Fragments of vessels have from time to time been exhumed from the silted-up bed of the Sarasvatī. From its very position Saptagrāma was eminently fitted for its being a trade dis-

Gāngê is modern Saptagrāma.

1 *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 614-616; *Indian Antiquary*, 1921 (*The Early Course of the Ganges*), pp. 16, 17.

2 Mr. Irving's *Commerce of India*, p. 84.

3 Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 57 (see s. v. *Sātgong*): the river Sarasvatī is not mentioned, but it is called the "Satgong river"; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. v, p. 480; *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxi, p. 181; vol. vi, pp. 402, 403.

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tributory and an emporium of commerce. It maintained its position "from the Paurāṇic age to the beginning of the sixteenth century" of the Christian era.[1] It was situated in Rāḍha. It was "once a royal city and emporium of trade."[2] Saptagrāma means a cluster of seven villages; it is therefore a description of the place and not a name. It had a name of course before it comprehended within its boundaries seven villages, and it is reasonable to believe that it could not have started all at once as a full-fledged town comprising seven villages and covering an area of fourteen miles.[3] The seven villages are Vāsudevapura, Vaṃśavāṭi Kṛṣṇapura, Nityānandapura, Śivapura, Sambachora and Baladghati.[4] Saptagrāma, therefore, had originally a name, however humble it might have been, and that name was *Gaṅgā*, the Gāngê of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.* Saptagrāma was known to the Romans by the name of *Ganges Regia*,[5] and in *Ganges Regia* was preserved the ancient name of Saptagrāma, the *Gaṅgā* or "Gāngê, the royal residence" of Ptolemy. *Regia* means a "royal residence, capital," and *Ganges Regia* means "Gaṅgā, the capital," the adjunct *Regia* being necessary to distinguish it from "Gaṅgā, the country" and "Gaṅgā, the river," as stated in the *Periplus.* But it should be borne in mind that the Roman name of *Ganges Regia* does not refer to Sātgāon, as the seat of the Governors of Lower Bengal during the early period of the Mahomedan rule, for the Romans carried on a direct trade with India, as stated before, from the first century A.C., long before the establishment of the Mahomedan rule in India; it refers only to Gaṅgā as the capital

1 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. v, p. 481, s. v. *Hugli River.*

2 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v; *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxi, p. 181, *The Grand Trunk Road—its Localities.*

3 *Sāhitya-pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. xv, p. 15, *Saptagrāma* by Mr. R. D. Banerji.

4 *JASB.*, 1910, p. 615.

5 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v, p. 278.

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of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra. Sir William Hunter also says, "Sātgāon, the 'Ganges Regia' or ancient royal port of Bengal, lay upon its [Sarasvatī's] bank a short distance from the Triveṇī *Ghāt*."[1] There can be no doubt that for the same reason, to avoid confusion, the town called Gaṅgā was also called "*Gaṅgā Bandar*" or the "Port of Ganges," or simply "*Bandar*" or the "Port," and the title of "Royal port" that was given to Saptagrāma was not a new distinction but a legacy inherited from the ancient *Gaṅgā Bandar*. The word *Bandar* still exists in its corrupted form in *Bandel*[2] which is about a mile of the north of Hughli town. It formed a part of ancient Saptagrāma. It contains a Roman Catholic Church, the oldest Christian Church built in Bengal by a Portuguese named Villalobos in 1597 A.C. Saptagrāma was visited in the hey-day of its glory by Fredericke, who in 1570 A.C. described it as a great centre of commerce. Kavikaṅkaṇa, who wrote the *Caṇḍī* in 1577, referring to Saptagrāma, says that the merchants of Kaliṅga, Trailiṅga, Aṅga, Mahārāṣṭra, Guzerat, Utkal, Draviḍa etc., and many other countries come to Saptagrāma with merchandise, but the Saptagrāma merchants never go out of their town and they command the wealth of the world, and also such comforts at home as are procurable in Paradise.[3] The poet thus briefly but clearly described the opulence and prosperity of Saptagrāma, and the amenities of life which were enjoyed by its people. But the name of Saptagrāma is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas. The name of Triveṇī, however, which is a quarter of Saptagrāma, is mentioned in the *Bṛhad-dharma Purāṇa*;[4] it is also alluded to in the *Pavanadūta*[5] which was written in the 12th century

1 *Imperial Gazetter of India*, vol. v, p. 481, s. v. *Hugli River*.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 57.
3 See *Calcutta Review*, 1891, p. 374.
4 *Bṛhad-dharma Purāṇa*, Pūrvakhaṇḍa, ch. 6.
5 *Pavana-dūta*, v, 33.

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A.C. The reason is obvious. In the eyes of the philosophic and religious Hindus the sanctity of the name of Triveṇī was of far greater importance than the opulence and wealth of Saptagrāma, the emporium of commerce. Triveṇī, which means the "Three plaits" or the three rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, is the counter part of Prayāga or Allahabad in the East. In Prayāga, the aforesaid three rivers unite and flow together, and, therefore, it is called *Yukta-veṇī*. In Treveṇī, the rivers separate and flow in different directions, and, therefore, according to Raghunandana,[1] it is called Dakṣiṇa (or Southern) Prayāga, and he explains it as "*Mukta-veṇī*, celebrated as Triveṇī in the southern country called Saptagrāma." *Mukta-veṇī* means where the rivers separate. Pliny[2] mentions Triveṇī as a great trading centre, and says that ships assembled near the Godāvarī and sailed to Treveṇī. The Rev. J. Long also says, "Tribeni was formerly noted for its trade: Pliny mentions that the ships assembling near the Godāvarī sailed from thence to cape Palinurus, then to Tentigalé, opposite Fulta, then to Tribeni and lastly to Patna. Ptolemy also notices Tribeni."[3] These ships were evidently bound for Sātgāon down the Sarasvatī, as it was two miles from Triveṇī. Mr. McCrindle while commenting on the word *Gāngê* in Ptolamy's *Geography of India*, says "another Gāngê is mentioned by Artenidoros above or to the N. W. of Polibothra, and this Welford identifies with Prayāga, i.e. Allahabad, but Groskurd with Anupshahr."[4] We accept the identification of Wilford in preference to that of Groskurd, as, according to the Purāṇas, the Ganges is the most sacred in Prayāga, and so the name of Gaṅgā must have been extended to the town of Prayāga

1 Raghunandana's *Prāyaścittatattva*, Gaṅgā-mahātmya, p. 100.

2 Pliny's *Natural History*, Bk. vi, ch. 19, translated by Philamon Holland.

3 *Calcutta Review*, vol. vi, p. 408—*The Banks of the Bhāgīrathī.*

4 *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 365.

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or Allahabad. This identification of the Gāngē of Artemidoros strongly supports our identification of the Gāngē of Ptolemy with Saptagrāma, the eastern quarter of which was Triveṇī, which is called *Dakṣiṇa* (*Southern*) *Prayāga* where the two rivers Sarasvatī and Yamunā separate from the Ganges, which is, therefore, deemed here to be as sacred as in Allahabad itself. At least this circumstance must have greatly influenced the selection of the same name for the "market-town" called *Gāngē* which afterwards came to be known as Saptagrāma. Owing to its antiquity, opulence, and reputation as an emporium of commerce, tradition has sought to invest Saptagrāma with the dignity of a pedigree town by ascribing its foundation to seven princes of Kānyakubja or Kanouj, and by assenting that it was the residence, and under the special protection, of the seven Ṛṣis who have given their names to the constellation called *Saptarṣimaṇḍala* or the Great Bear which revolves round *Dhruva Nakṣatra* or the Pole Star. The temple of the Ṛṣis existed near the Triveṇī-ghāṭ. Figures of Buddha engraved on a slab of stone affixed to the base of a pillar in a neighbouring mosque, and a broken statue of Pārśvanātha within the enclosure of Zaffar Khan's tomb, indicate that Triveṇī also passed through the usual stages of Jainism and Buddhism. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that ancient Gāngē mentioned in the *Periplus* and in Ptolemy's *Geography* is the modern Saptagrāma or Sātgāon in the district of Hughli. Sātgāon declined when the Sarasvatī became deteriorated, and its ruin was completed when Hughli was declared to be a royal port in 1632.[1] It should be stated here that it was in Hughli that the first Bengali book was printed in 1778, and that book was Halhed's *Grammar*, the types of which were prepared by Sir C. Wilkins himself.[2]

1 *Calcutta Review*, vol. vi, p. 404—*The Banks of the Bhāgīrathī.*
2 *Ibid*, vol. xiii, p. 433.

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The fourth capital of Rāḍha was Bhūriśreṣṭha or the modern Bhurset, now an insignificant village in the sub-division of Ārāmbāgh in the district of Hughli. It was so celebrated that it gave its name to a whole Pargana in that sub-division. The *Prabodhacandrodaya-nāṭaka*, a religious and philosophical play composed by Kṛṣṇa Miśra in the court of Kīrtivarman of Bundelkhand in the latter half of the 11th century A.C. mentions that Rāḍha, known also by the names of "Rāḍhā"[1] and "Rāḍhaka,"[2] was in the kingdom of Gauḍa, and in Rāḍha there was a town called Bhūriśreṣṭha; and it described Rāḍha as a country.[3] It appears that Rāḍha appertained to the kingdom of Gauḍa at the time of Ādiśūra, but after the death of that monarch, Gauḍa was invaded and conquered by Dharma Pāla, king of Magadha, in the first half of the 9th century A.C., and Ādiśūra's son Bhūśūra was obliged to take refuge in Rāḍha which, however, was not invaded or subjugated by the Pāla kings of Magadha. Rāḍha continued to be an independent kingdom under the kings of the Śūra dynasty from Bhūśūra to Raṇaśūra (called also Anuśūra) for a period of over two hundred years from the 9th century to the latter part of the 11th century A.C.[4] That Rāḍha was an independent kingdom in the 10th century A.C. is confirmed by the Khajuraho inscription which enumerated Rāḍha as one of the independent kingdoms conquered by the Dhaṅga Deva, the Candrātreya (or Candella) king of Tejabhukti (Bundelkhand).[5] It also appears from the Tirumalaya stone inscription that Rājendra

Bhūriśreṣṭha, the capital of Rāḍha.

1 *Prabodhacandrodaya-nāṭaka*, Act iv.

2 *Vārendrī-gauḍa-rāḍhakāḥ—Jyotistattva.*

3 *Prabodhacandrodaya-nāṭaka*, Act ii.

4 *JASB.*, 1910, p. 607.

5 Khajuraho Inscription, no. iv: *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, pp. 138, 146, *v.* 46. See also an inscription transcribed in *JASB.*, 1839, p. 173.

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Coḷa (1012-1052 A.C.) defeated Raṇaśūra, king of Dakṣiṇa (or southern) Rāḍha and Mahīpāla, king of Magadha and Uttara (or Northern) Rāḍha. So it is very probable that the word Rāḍha after the conquest of Dharmapāla was confined only to what is called Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, mentioned in the *Prabodhacandrodaya-nāṭaka*, which is said to have been the abode of *Ahaṃkāra* or Pride.[1] Rāḍha and Gauḍa again formed a single kingdom at the time of Vijaya Sena, the father of Ballāla Sena of the Sena dynasty towards the close of the 11th century.[2]

Condition of the people.

It appears from the writings of the Greek historians, the itineraries of the Chinese travellers and the Hindu works, especially those which were composed after the 4th century of the Christian era, that the people of Rāḍha were warlike, rich, prosperous and enterprising. They maintained a large standing army which bespeaks of their military prowess and constant preparation for war. There can be no doubt that during the Buddhist period, Tāmralipta or Tamluk became a great centre of education and training, and pupils from distant parts of India resorted to the Saṃghārāmas or monasteries of this place to receive instructions not only in religion, but also in the various branches of learning bearing on the Buddhist religion. In later times, Saptagrāma, or, properly speaking, Triveṇī became one of the four Samājas, or renowned seats of Sanskrit learning, and men like Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana, the compiler of the *Digest of Hindu Laws*, Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, the celebrated author of the smṛti works, and others flourished at this place, the other three Samājas being at Guptipara, Santipur and Nadia. There were thirty *tols* in Triveṇī alone. The *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, the *Bṛhat-kathā* and other works of a

1 *Prabodhacandrodayanāṭaka*, Act ii (see *ante*).

2 Deopara Stone Inscription of Vijaya Sena in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 306; see also pp. 312, 313; also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 350.

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similar nature, though imaginary in many respects, give us some insight into the real condition of the people who lived at the time when they were composed, and from these works it appears that the merchants of Rāḍha as a class were very rich and prosperous. They not only sent their goods to several inland towns which were the centres of trade, but also their vessels visited distant parts of India, Suvarṇabhūmi (Burma) and Siṃhala (Ceylon), and in their voyages they touched at several islands which studded the Indian Ocean, where they sold or bartered their commodities. They even went to the Persian Gulf for trading purposes, notwithstanding the risks they incurred from the depredations of pirates who infested the ocean and the invasions of the barbarians who lived in the various parts of India and the islands they visited. The basis of pure morality upon which the Buddhist creed was founded gradually gave way to superstition and outward forms: and there was a reaction. The ideas which pervaded the Mahāyāna system of Northern Buddhism were amalgamated with those connected with the Brāhmaṇical cult of Yoga and Śaivaic mysticism with its worship of "female energies,"[1] or, to speak more precisely, there was an attempt to reconcile the Sāṅkhya system of Hindu philosophy[2] with the Mahāyāna doctrines of the Buddhists,[3] evidently with a view to find a basis of common creed for those who professed their faith in the Vedic religion and those who believed in the Mahāyāna doctrines of Buddhism.

L. Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 13, 44.

Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 502,—"But in all pro ability, the Tāntrika doctrine owes its development to the popularising of the Sāṅkhya theory of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*."

3 Mr. D. T. Suzuki says in his *Outline of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 138 : "The Sāṃkhya philosophy is an avowed dualism and permits the existence of two principles independent of each other. Mahāyānism is fundamentally monistic and makes ignorance merely a condition necessary to the unfolding of Suchness (*Bhūtatathatā*). Therefore what the Sāṃkhya splits into two, Mahāyānism puts together in one."

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Thus Tāntrikism came into existence which encouraged sacrifices and the performance of mystic rites for the attainment of wordly objects and salvation.[1] It has been rightly said that the main cause which contributed to the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth was "undoubtedly the change in its own nature brought about by its attempt to absorb other beliefs and practices with which it came in contact."[2] Tāntrikism in Rāḍha has now been supplanted to a great extent by Śaivaism and also by Vaiṣṇavism since the advent of Caitanya (1485-1533 A.C.), whose religion has now taken a deep root in Bengal.

NUNDO LAL DEY

1 *Mālatīmādhava*, Act v ; *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 9.

2 Earl of Ronaldshay's *Lands of the Thunderbolt*, ch. xii, p. 98.

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Religion of Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukundarama Cakravarti

Mr. Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay, the writer of the encyclopædic commentary on the text of Kavikaṅkaṇa, is of opinion that Kavikaṅkaṇa was a Vaiṣṇava by religion. He suggested this in an interesting monograph published in the Bhāratī of Agrahāyaṇa, 1327 B. S. A substance of this has been published in the introduction to the edition of Kavikaṅkaṇa's text published by the Indian Publishing House. In his "Caṇḍī-maṅgala-bodhinī," Mr. Bandyopadhyaya has developed his thesis in many elaborate notes and comments. But was Kavikaṅkaṇa in reality a Vaiṣṇava? I have had reasons to believe that he was not.

Kavikaṅkaṇa lived in the last quarter of the 16th century of the Christian era. In order to be able to judge the correctness or otherwise of the statement that Kavikaṅkaṇa was a Vaiṣṇava, we must first of all find the type of a Vaiṣṇava of his time. This can be done only by reading the orthodox Vaiṣṇava works as well as by reference to the secular and other literature of the period. The Caitanya-bhāgavata, the Caitanya-caritāmṛta, the Advaita-prakāśa, the Bhaktiratnākara, the Narottamavilāsa, the Premavilāsa and such other works represent the Vaiṣṇava literature of this period.

Īśāna Nāgara wrote his Advaita-prakāśa in 1490 Śaka (=1568 A.C.). In the second chapter of this work, we meet with a legendary anecdote in the life of Advaita, whose name was Kamalākṣa in his boyhood. One day, the son of the local king, Divya Siṃha, and Kamalākṣa went together to the temple of the goddess, Kālikā. The prince bowed down before the idol of the goddess and asked his playmate Kamalākṣa to do the same.[1] Kamalākṣa appeared to be rather indifferent to what the prince said. The prince got angry and chastised

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1 এহেন সময়ে শুন এক চমৎকার।
কমলাক্ষ সহ দিব্যসিংহের কুমার॥
শিলাময়ী কালিকার মণ্ডপেতে গেলা।
ভক্তি করি দেবীর আগে প্রণাম করিলা॥
প্রভুপাদ দেখে কালীমূর্ত্তির মাধুর্য্য।
রাজপুত্র কহে প্রণাম করহ আচার্য্য॥

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the future Lord of the Vaiṣṇavas for his indifference. The Lord could not tolerate this impertinence on the part of a secular prince, and breathed out a 'huṅkāra,' in consequence of which the prince fell senseless on the ground. The sad news was quickly conveyed to the king by the servants in attendance. Kamalākṣa hid himself behind an ant-hill., whence his father, Kuvera Tarkapañcānana, who appeared on the place of occurrence in company with the king, discovered him. The king, who was extremely indignant at this conduct of Kamalākṣa, reprimanded him in public and asked him what could have been the motive that actuated a noble Brāhmaṇa like himself to such a heinous crime. Being put to shame in this way, the Lord said, that although the prince appeared like a dead man, he was not dead, in fact. So saying, he revived the prince by sprinkling over his body the water in which the foot of Nārāyaṇa had been washed. Kuvera, the father of

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প্রভু তাহা নাহি শুনে রহে দাঁড়াইঞা।
রাজপুত্র নিন্দে তাঁরে কোপ প্রকাশিঞা॥
প্রভু রজঃ স্বীকারিয়া হুঙ্কার করিলা।
রাজসুত মূর্চ্ছা হই ভূমিতে পড়িলা॥
হায় হায় করি সব রাজদূত ধায়।
শীঘ্রগতি দিব্যসিংহ রাজারে জানায়॥
অকস্মাৎ শুনি রাজা সাংঘাতিক কথা।
মন্ত্রিবর্গ সহ গেলা পুত্র আছে যথা॥
এথা প্রভু কমলাক্ষ লোকব্যবহারে।
পলাইয়া রহিলা উইপোতার মাঝারে॥
মৃত সুত দেখি রাজা করি হায় হায়।
কমলাক্ষে চাহিতে কুবের উঠি ধায়॥
বহু অন্বেষিয়া তবে প্রভুকে পাইলা।
দেবীর বাটীতে আসি উপনীত হৈলা॥
রাজা কহে কমলাক্ষ তুমি দ্বিজরাজ।
কি লাগি কৈলা এই সাংঘাতিক কাজ
লজ্জা পাঞা প্রভু বৈল ইহঁ মরে নাই।
আছয়ে মূর্চ্ছিত হঞা এখনি জীয়াই॥
এত কহি নারায়ণের শ্রীচরণামৃতে।
অভিষিক্ত করি জীয়াইলা রাজসুতে॥

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Kamalākṣa, felt great relief at this unexpected revival of the prince. The king was glad beyond measure and distributed alms to the poor.

It was a 'Dipānvitā' day.[1] The king was enjoying the festive occasion. The whole village assembled together in the open space in front of the temple of the Goddess, where singing and dancing were going on. Kamalākṣa came there and sat in the very middle

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1 একদিন শুন এক অদ্ভুত বৃত্তান্ত। দীপান্বিতা দিনে হৈল উৎসব একান্ত॥
দেশের সকল লোক ভদ্র নীচ যত। দেবীর বাটীতে আসি হৈল উপনীত॥
নানা নৃত্যগীত হৈল পূর্ব্ব ব্যবহারে। প্রভু বসিলেন আসি সভার ভিতরে॥
রাজা কহে কমলাক্ষ এ কি ব্যবহার। কালিকা না প্রণমিলা কি ভাব তোমার॥
প্রভু কহে পরং ব্রহ্ম স্বয়ং ভগবান্। তিহোঁ মোর সাধ্যবস্তু নহে কেহ আন॥
নানামতে যেই যায় তার বিড়ম্বনা। বিজ্ঞজনে এক ইষ্ট করয়ে ভাবনা॥
পুত্রের কবিত্ব শুনি তর্ক পঞ্চানন। রাজপক্ষ হঞা কৈলা বিচার পত্তন॥
অহে কমলাক্ষ তুমি না পাইলা অন্ত। এক ব্রহ্মের নানা রূপ বেদের সিদ্ধান্ত॥
দেবদেবী দ্বেষ সেহি মহাপাপকর। পূজিবে দেবতা সবে হইয়া তৎপর॥
ত্রেতাযুগে রামচন্দ্র সাক্ষান্নারায়ণ। সীতা উদ্ধারিতে কৈলা দেবীর পূজন॥
জগন্মাতা ভগবতী অতি দয়াবতী। তাঁরে ভজি মুক্তি পায় যত জ্ঞানী ব্রতী॥
অতএব কালীমায়ে করহ প্রণাম॥ না রহিবে বিপৎ সিদ্ধ হবে মনস্কাম॥
প্রভু কহে শুন পিতা না করিহ রোষ। একনিষ্ঠ না হইলে হয় বহু দোষ॥
যৈছে বৃক্ষমূলে জল করিলে সেচন। শাখা পল্লবাদ্যে হয় তৃপ্তির সাধন॥
তৈছে সর্ব্ব দেবদেবীর মূল নারায়ণে। পূজিলে সকল পূজা হয় সমাধানে॥
বিষ্ণুমায়া ভগবতী বহিরঙ্গ বলে। যাঁহার মায়াতে জীব তত্ত্বজ্ঞান ভুলে॥
প্রাণিহিংসা যজ্ঞে যেই হয় উল্লাসিত। সে দেবীর উপাসনা না হয় উচিত॥
তেহোঁ যদি জগন্মাতা জগৎ তাঁর পুত্র। সন্তান বধিতে কিবা আছে যুক্তি শাস্ত্র॥
* * * * * * *
হেনমতে পিতাপুত্রে বহুতর্ক হৈল। সভাস্থ সমস্ত লোক বিস্ময় মানিল॥
সর্ব্বারাধ্য মহাগুরু পিতৃদেব হন। তাঁর সম্মান লাগি প্রভু হৈলা নির্ব্বচন॥
প্রভু কহে পিতা মম অপরাধ ক্ষম। এখনি দেবীরে মুঞি করিমু প্রণাম॥
এত কহি দেবীর আগে কৈলা নমস্কার। হেনকালে হৈল এক অতি চমৎকার॥
দেবী অন্তর্দ্ধানে সেই প্রতিমা ফাটিল। তাহাদেখি লোকসব বিস্মিত হৈল॥
ইহার কারণ সেই প্রতিমাচেতনা। নিজ প্রভু দেখি ঐছে করিল ঘটনা॥

Advaitaprakāśa, ch. 2.

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of the assembly, without prostrating before the idol of the Goddess. The king got highly offended at this and asked him, "Why don't you make obeisance to the Goddess, O ill-mannered boy? What a strange conduct is yours!" The Lord replied to the king in the following words: "Paraṃ Brahma, the Supreme Being, is the only God that I can conceive of as the object of worship and none else. Whoever moves in a multifarious path must meet bewilderment: a wise man adores only one God, the deity of one's liking."

At this, Kuvera took sides with the king and opened a public discussion with his own son. "O Kamalākṣa, you do not seem to have the established view of the question; it is the Vedas that have established the polymorphic appearances of the One Brahma. It is a great sin to entertain hostilities against the gods and goddesses: you should be prompt and careful in worshipping all gods and goddesses. Rāmacandra, who was Nārāyaṇa in person, worshipped the Devī in the Tretā age in order to have Sītā rescued. Bhagavatī, the mother of the Universe, is very merciful; all wise ascetics attain 'mukti' by adoring Her. Therefore prostrate yourself before Mother Kālī; all your calamities will disappear through Her grace and you will have your wishes fulfilled." To this, Kamalākṣa gave the following rejoinder: "Hear me, my father, be not offended. Many are the evil consequences of not being exclusive in one's devotion. If you pour water at the root of a tree, the branches and twigs are all satisfied.[1] So, if you worship Nārāyaṇa, the root of all gods and goddesses, you have the satisfaction of worshipping all the deities separately. Bhagavatī is the 'māyā' of Viṣṇu, and is therefore to be considered as something external. It is through her illusion that a creature forgets the true principle, 'tattva-jñāna.' A goddess that gets delighted at a sacrificial rite in which injury to life is the authoritative commandment, should, on no account, be worshipped. If she be the Mother of the world, all creatures must be her children. Where are the reasons and what are the scriptural injunctions that can be adduced in favour of a mother's killing her own children?" The whole assembly became dumbfounded at hearing this discussion between the father and the son. Now Kuvera was compelled to apply the father's prerogative to command his son to obey, and it was at his bidding that the young Lord of the Vaiṣṇavas bowed down before the Śākta goddess. But the consequence was very astounding. When the consciousness

1 Cf. *Bhāgavata*, IV, 31, 14.

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that was inherent in the idol recognised its own Lord, it came out the idol, and in consequence of this, the idol burst into pieces.

Whatever may be the origin of such an anecdote, it is clear in one point, viz., that the Vaiṣṇavas of the day were not liberal in their religious opinions.

In the nineteenth chapter of the same work, there is a passage declaring the superiority of the Vaiṣṇava faith to all other forms of worship. "Śrī-Vaiṣṇava faith is the only true form of worship, time-honoured and eternal. Any other form of worship is of a secondary importance."[1] The Caitanya-bhāgavata states that "the meanest fellow who attributes 'Īśvaratva' (=godship or divinity) to other than Śrī-Caitanya-candra is abominable and deserves pity."[2] The Narottama-vilāsa is very severe in its criticism of the followers of the non-Vaiṣṇava cults who are called the 'pāṣaṇḍis.' "The sinful acts they commit is beyond any verbal expression. Their houses are strewn over with blood particles caused by the slaughter of goats, rams and buffaloes. Some of them dance in a frantic manner, sword in hand, with the human head which has been severed from the trunk of an unfortunate victim. Anybody, even a Brāhmaṇa, that may happen to pass by, is sure to meet death at the hands of these ruffians. Covetous of the company of women, they make no distinction of castes. They cannot have a meal without meat and wine."[3] The Bhakti-Ratnākara also does not hold a liberal view of the Śākta cult. "So saying, the heretics entered the Caṇḍī's temple, and began to display arrogance. They prostrated themselves before the goddess, and said

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1 শ্রীবৈষ্ণব ধর্ম্মে কহি সনাতন ধর্ম্ম। তাহা বিনা আনে কহে উপধর্ম্মসম॥

Advaitaprakāśa, 19.

2 শ্রীচৈতন্যচন্দ্র বিনে অন্যেরে ঈশ্বর। যে অধমে বলে সেই ছার শোচ্যতর॥
দুইবাহু তুলি এই বলি সত্য করি। অনন্ত ব্রহ্মাণ্ড নাথ শ্রীগৌরাঙ্গ হরি॥

Caitanya-bhāgavata, Ādi.

3 করয়ে কুক্রিয়া যত কে কহিতে পারে। ছাগ-মেষ-মহিষ-শোণিত ঘরদ্বারে॥
কেহ কেহ মানুষের কাটা মুণ্ড লৈয়া। খড়্গকরে করয়ে নর্ত্তন মত্ত হৈয়া॥
সে সময়ে যদি কেহ সেই পথে যায়। হইলেও বিপ্র তার হাথে না এড়ায়॥
সভে স্ত্রী-লম্পট জাতিবিচাররহিত। মদ্য-মাংস বিনে না ভুঞ্জয়ে কদাচিত॥

Narottamavilāsa, 7.

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again and again that she might bring ruin on these fellows (i.e., the Vaiṣṇavas) on the same night."[1]

Evidences of the intolerant attitude of the Vaiṣṇavas might be cited from all orthodox works of the time. But I refrain from doing so. One or two anecdotes on the subject, however, may be found interesting.

In the Caitanyabhāgavata there is an anecdote of a Brāhmaṇa named Hiraṇya Paṇḍita who was a worshipper of the goddess, Caṇḍī. He is said to have been the leader of a gang of dacoits.[2] Information

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1 এত কহি হাসি হাসি পাষণ্ডীর গণ। চণ্ডীর মন্দিরে গিয়া করে আস্ফালন ॥
প্রণমিয়ে চণ্ডীরে কহয়ে বারে বার। অদ্য রাত্রে এগুলিরে করিবে সংহার ॥

Bhaktiratnākara.

2 হিরণ্য পণ্ডিত নামে এক সুব্রাহ্মণ। সেহ নবদ্বীপে বৈসে মহা অকিঞ্চন ॥
সেই দুষ্ট ব্রাহ্মণ পরম দুষ্টমতি। লইয়া সকল দস্যু করয়ে যুকতি ॥
আরে ভাই সব আর কেনে দুঃখ পাই। চণ্ডীমায়ে নিধি মিলাইল একঠাঞি ॥
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ঢাল খাঁড়া লই সবে হও সমবায়। আজি গিয়া হানা দিব কতক নিশায় ॥
এইমত যুক্তিকরি সব দস্যুগণ। সবে নিশাভাগ জানি করিল গমন ॥
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দস্যুগণ বলে সব শুউক খাইয়া। আমরাও বসি সবে হানা দিব গিয়া ॥
বসিলা সকল দস্যু এক বৃক্ষতলে। পরধন লইবেক এই কুতূহলে ॥
কেহ বলে নেহার সোণার তাড়বালা। কেহ বলে মুই নিব মুকুতার মালা ॥
কেহ বলে মুঞি নিব কর্ণ আভরণ। স্বর্ণহার নিব মুই বলে কোন জন ॥
কেহ বলে মুঞি নিব রজতনূপুর। সবে এই মনঃকলা খায়েন প্রচুর ॥
হেনই সময়ে নিত্যানন্দের ইচ্ছায়। নিদ্রা ভগবতী আসি চাপিলা সবায় ॥
সেইখানে ঘুমাইলা সব সস্যুগণ। নিদ্রায় হইলা সবে মহা অচেতন।
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কেহ বলে তুই আগে ঘুমায়ে পড়িলি। কেহ বলে তুই বড় জাগিয়া আছিলি ॥
দস্যু সেনাপতি যে ব্রাহ্মণ দুরাচার। সে বলয়ে কলহ করহ কেনে আর ॥
যে হইল সে হইল চণ্ডীর ইচ্ছায়। একদিন গেলে কি সকল দিন যায় ॥
বুঝিলাম চণ্ডী আজি মোহিলা আপনে। বিনি চণ্ডী পূজিয়া গেলাঙ তেকারণে ॥
ভাল করি আজি সবে মদ্য মাংস দিয়া। চল সবে একঠাঞি চণ্ডী পূজি গিয়া ॥
এতেক করিয়া যুক্তি সব দস্যুগণ। মদ্য মাংস দিয়া চণ্ডী করিল পূজন ॥
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came to them one day that there was enough of hoarded treasures in the house of Nityānanda, and assembling together in the temple of Caṇḍī, they resolved that they should burgle the house of Nityānanda and take away the treasures that were there. Then they got prepared with various weapons and marched at nightfall to a place which was near the house of Nityānanda. While the robbers were waiting for an

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মহানিশা সর্ব্বলোকে আছেন শয়নে। হেনই সময়ে বেড়িলেক দস্যুগণে॥
বাড়ীর নিকটে থাকি দস্যুগণে দেখে। চতুর্দ্দিকে অনেক পাইকে বাড়ী রাখে॥
পরম প্রকাণ্ড মূর্ত্তি সবেই উদ্দণ্ড। নানা অস্ত্রধারী সবে পরম প্রচণ্ড॥
সর্ব্বদস্যুগণ দেখে তার একজনে। শতজন মারিতে পারয়ে সেই ক্ষণে॥

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সর্ব্ব দস্যুগণে যুক্তি লাগিলা করিতে। কোথাকার পদাতিক আইল এথাতে॥
কেহ বলে অবধূত কেমতে জানিয়া। কাহার পাইক আনিয়াছে যে মাগিয়া॥

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এবা নহে কোন পদাতিক আনি থাকে। তবে কতদিন এড়াইবে এই পাকে॥
অতএব চল সবে আজি ঘরে যাই। চুপে চাপে দিন দশ বসি থাক ভাই॥

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আরবার যুক্তি করি পাপী দস্যুগণে। আইলেন নিত্যানন্দচন্দ্রের ভবনে॥

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প্রবিষ্ট হইবামাত্র বাড়ীর ভিতরে। সবে হৈলা অন্ধ কেহ চাহিতে না পারে॥
কেহ গিয়া পড়ে গড় খাইর ভিতরে। জোঁকে পোঁকে ডাঁশে তারে কামড়াইয়া মারে॥
উচ্ছিষ্ট গর্ত্তেতে কেহ কেহ গিয়া পড়ে। তথায় মরয়ে বিছা পোকের কামড়ে॥
কেহ কেহ পড়ে গিয়া কাঁটার উপরে। সর্ব্বঅঙ্গে ফুটে কাঁটা নড়িতে না পারে॥
খালের ভিতরে গিয়া পড়ে কোন জন। হস্তপদ ভাঙ্গি কেহ করয়ে ক্রন্দন॥
সেইখানে কারো কারো গায়ে আইল জ্বর। সর্ব্ব দস্যুগণ চিন্তা পাইল বিস্তর॥
হেনই সময়ে ইন্দ্র পরম কৌতুকী। করিতে লাগিলা মহাঝড়-বৃষ্টি তথি॥

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কতক্ষণে দস্যুসেনাপতি যে ব্রাহ্মণ। অকস্মাৎ ভাগ্যে তার হইল স্মরণ।
মনে ভাবে বিপ্র নিত্যানন্দ নর নহে। সত্য সে ঈশ্বর মনুষ্য কভু কহে॥
একদিন মোহিলেন সবারে নিদ্রায়। তথাপিও না বুঝিনু ঈশ্বর মায়ায়॥
আর দিন অদ্ভুত পদাতিকগণ। দেখাইলে তবু মোর নহিল চেতন॥
এ মহাসঙ্কটে মোরে কে করিবে সার। নিত্যানন্দ বহি মোর গতি নাহি আর॥
এতভাবি দ্বিজ নিত্যানন্দের চরণ। চিন্তিয়া একান্ত ভাবে লইল শরণ॥

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opportune moment at midnight, the goddess Nidrā (Sleep) overpowered them, and each one of them fell asleep and remained senseless till broad daylight. Being thus frustrated in their evil attempt they began to blame one another. But the leader of the party suggested that it was a punishment inflicted on them by Caṇḍī, because they had come out of the Devī's temple without offering her the customary 'pūjā.' So they worshipped the goddess with wine and meat the next day and started out with the evil intention of burgling the house of Nityānanda. It was the mystic powers of Nityānanda that had brought on the dormition of the robbers on the first night of their criminal expedition. The same powers were instrumental on the second occasion also to cause the bewilderment of the robbers who had the vision of a host of soldiers guarding Nityānanda's house. Perplexed and disheartened, the robbers returned to the temple of Caṇḍī.

The Gang of Hiraṇya Paṇḍita visited the house of Nityānanda on a third occasion. They lost their eye-sight by the influence of the same mystic powers and were put to infinite trouble. These vicissitudes brought on a change on the mind of the leader of the gang who began to meditate on the supernatural powers of Nityānanda whom he began to revere as a god. The whole gang in a body came to Nityānanda, prostrated themselves before him and confessed everything before him. Nityānanda pardoned them all, and since then they became devout Vaiṣṇavas.

We find the following interesting story in the Caitanya-caritāmṛta. A heretic Brāhmaṇa had the intention of putting Śrīvāsa to trouble.[1] One night, he came, with a few friends of his, to the

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1 একদিন বিপ্র—নাম গোপাল চাপাল। পাষণ্ডী প্রধান সেই দুর্ম্মুখ বাচাল॥
ভবানী পূজার সব সামগ্রী লইয়া। রাত্রে শ্রীবাসের দ্বারে স্থান লেপাইয়া॥
কলাপাত-উপরে থুইল ওড়ফুল। হরিদ্রা সিন্দুর রক্ত চন্দন তণ্ডুল॥
মদ্যভাণ্ড পাশে ধরি নিজঘর গেলা। প্রাতঃকালে শ্রীনিবাস তাহাত দেখিলা॥
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হাড়ি আনাইয়া সব দূর করাইল! জল গোময় দিয়া সেই স্থান লেপাইল॥
তিন দিন বই সেই গোপাল চাপাল। সর্ব্বাঙ্গে হইল কুষ্ঠ বহে রক্ত ধার॥
সর্ব্বাঙ্গে বেড়িল কীটে, কাটে নিরন্তর। অসহ্য বেদনা দুঃখে জ্বলয়ে অন্তর॥
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তবে বিপ্র লইল আসি শ্রীবাসশরণ। তার কৃপায় পাপ তার হইল বিমোচন॥
চৈ, চ, আদি, ১৭।

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open yard in front of Śrīvāsa's gate, besmeared the ground with cow-dung water, placed an idol of Bhavānī there and offered worship to her with the usual formalities. When in the morning Śrīvāsa saw what had been done in the night at his cost, he at once sent for the scavengers who came and removed the articles of worship from his door. Cow-dung water was then sprinkled over the place. The heretic, however, was afflicted with leprosy in consequence of his having wounded the feelings of a devout Vaiṣṇava. The leper is reported to have been subsequently cured of his ugly disease by the mystic powers of Śrīvāsa.

This is the picture of a typical Vaiṣṇava of the time of Kavikaṅkaṇa. Homicide, robbery, burglary a d various other heinous crimes, and even untouchability were frequently attributed by the Vaiṣṇavas to those who were followers of religious cults other than theirs, and especially the defenders of the Caṇḍī cult.

It is most unlikely therefore that Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukundarāma Cakravartī who sang of Caṇḍī belonged to the type of Vaiṣṇavas reperesented in the contemporary Vaiṣṇava works.

The second point to be noted in this connection is the method of self-identification. The Gauḍīya Brāhmaṇa School instituted by Ballāla Sena of the 12th century of the Christian era requires the mention of the Gāi, the Gotra (name of the original ancestor) and such other particulars. No mention of the guru or religious preceptor is demanded. According to the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava School instituted by Caitanya-deva, the Śākhā, the Sampradāya and the name of the guru, must be mentioned in order to give the identification of one belonging to the community of the Bhakti Cult. The Vaiṣṇava Community is likened to a *Tree*, called the '*Bhakti-kalpa-taru*' (=the wish granting tree of the Bhakti Cult).

The Caitanya-caritāmṛta gives description of this tree of the Bhakti Cult.[1] Caitanya himself is called the 'mālākāra' (lit. 'gardener'),

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1 শ্রীচৈতন্য মালাকার পৃথিবীতে আনি। ভক্তিকল্পতরু রুপিলা সিঞ্চি ইচ্ছাপানী ॥
জয় শ্রীমাধবপুরী কৃষ্ণপ্রেমপূর। ভক্তিকল্পতরুর তেঁহো প্রথম অঙ্কুর ॥
শ্রীঈশ্বরপুরীরূপে অঙ্কুর পুষ্ট হৈল। আপনে চৈতন্যমালী স্কন্ধ উপজিল ॥
নিজাচিন্ত্যশক্ত্যে মালী হৈয়া স্কন্ধ হয়। সকল শাখার সেই স্কন্ধমূলাশ্রয় ॥
পরমানন্দ পুরী আর কেশব ভারতী। ব্রহ্মানন্দ পুরী আর ব্রহ্মানন্দ ভারতী ॥
বিষ্ণু পুরী, কেশব পুরী, পুরী কৃষ্ণানন্দ। শ্রীনৃসিংহ তীর্থ, আর পুরী সুখানন্দ ॥

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and he himself is identified with the *Tree*. Nine are the roots on which the tree stands. The central root is Paramānanda Purī. The eight roots on the eight sides are Keśava Bhāratī, Brahmānanda Purī, Brahmānanda Bhāratī, Viṣṇu Purī, Keśava Puri, Kṛṣṇānanda Purī, Nṛsiṃha Tīrtha and Sukhānanda Purī. The twofold trunk of the tree consists in Prabhu Nityānanda and Prabhu Advaita. This trunk is branched off in diverse directions into numberless branches or 'Śākhās'. Twenty of such 'Śākhās' constitute a 'maṇḍala'. Each 'Śākhā' is again subdivided into sub-branches called 'Upa-śākhās'. 'Prema' (=Love) is the fruit that grows on this miraculous tree,which is sweeter than ambrosia. The gardener, Caitanya, distributes the fruit without any price to any body that may like to taste it.

In giving his identification, a Vaiṣṇava naturally indicates his position in the tree of the Bhakti Cult. Let me cite an example :[1]

এই নবমূল নিকসিল বৃক্ষমূলে। এই নব মূলে বৃক্ষ করিল নিশ্চলে॥
মধ্যমূল পরমানন্দ পুরী মহাবীর। অষ্টদিকে অষ্টমূল বৃক্ষ কৈল স্থির॥
স্কন্ধের উপরে বহু শাখা উপজিল। উপরি উপরি শাখা অসংখ্য হইল॥
বিশ বিশ শাখা করি এক এক মণ্ডল। মহা মহা শাখা ছাইল ব্রহ্মাণ্ড সকল॥
এইকৈক শাখাতে উপশাখা শত শত। যত উপজিল শাখা কে গণিবে কত॥
মুখ্য মুখ্য শাখাগণের নাম অগণন। আগেত করিব শুন বৃক্ষের বর্ণন॥
বৃক্ষের উপরে শাখা হইল দুই স্কন্ধ। এক অদ্বৈত নাম, আর নিত্যানন্দ॥
সেই দুই স্কন্ধে বহু শাখা উপজিল। তার উপশাখাগণে জগৎ ছাইল॥
বড় শাখা, উপশাখা, তার উপশাখা। যত উপজিল তার কে করিবে লেখা॥
শিষ্য, প্রশিষ্য, আর উপশিষ্যগণ। জগৎ ব্যাপিল তার নাহিক গণন॥
উড়ুম্বর বৃক্ষ যৈছে ফলে সর্ব্বঅঙ্গে। এইমত ভক্তিবৃক্ষের সর্ব্বত্র ফল লাগে॥
মূল স্কন্ধের শাখা আর উপশাখাগণে। লাগিল যে প্রেমফল অমৃতকে জিনে॥
পাকিল যে প্রেমফল অমৃত মধুর। বিলায় চৈতন্যমালী, নাহি লয় মূল॥
চৈ, চ, আদি, ৯।

1 পূর্ব্ব পরিচয় দিতে লজ্জা হয় মনে। পূর্ব্ববাস গঙ্গাতীরে জানে সর্ব্বজনে॥
বিশ্বনাথ চক্রবর্ত্তী সর্ব্বত্র বিখ্যাত। তাঁর শিষ্য মোর পিতা বিপ্র জগন্নাথ॥
না জানি কি হেতু হৈল মোর দুই নাম। নরহরি দাস, আর দাস ঘনশ্যাম॥
গৃহাশ্রম হইতে হইলু উদাসীন। মহাপাপ বিষয়ে মজিনু রাত্রিদিন॥
দয়ার সমুদ্র ওহে বৈষ্ণব গোসাঁই। বেদে গায় তুয়াপদ বিনে গতি নাই॥
নরহরি কহে এই কৃপা কর মোরে। নিরন্তর ডুবি যেন ভক্তিরত্নাকারে॥
ভক্তিরত্নাকর।

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"I feel abashed to give out my own identity. Formerly our residence was on the banks of the Ganges, it is known to all. Viśvanātha Cakravartī is well known everywhere. His disciple was my father, Vipra Jagannātha. I do not know why I have got two names, Narahari Dāsa and Ghanaśyāma Dāsa."

The author of the 'Caṇḍī-maṅgala' has given us a detailed account of himself and his family.[1] But this self-identification is the method of the Ballāla School. He gives the names of seven generations of his, including his own son, Śivarāma. He mentions his Gāi, i.e., the original village in which his ancestors lived. But he does not say who his guru was. In this respect also he does not conform to the tradition of the Vaiṣṇava community of his time.

The third point to be considered in this connection is the traditional self-humiliation in speech which forms part of the Vaiṣṇava etiquette of the day. "Kindness to animals, association with the 'sādhus', and self-humiliation in speech, —these are the three courses of conduct, inborn in every follower of the Kṛṣṇa Cult".[2] The author of the Caitanyacaritāmṛta is well known for his self-humiliation. Towards the end of this work, we find the following words :[3]

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1 কাঞ্জরিকুলের সার, মহামিশ্র অলঙ্কার, শব্দকোষ কাব্যের নিধান।
কয়্যারি কুলের রাজা, সুকৃতি তপন ওঝা, তস্ত সুত উমাপতি নাম॥
তনয় মাধবশর্ম্মা, সুকৃতি সুকৃতকর্ম্মা, তার নয় তনয় সোদর।
উদ্ধরণ, পুরন্দর, নিত্যানন্দ, সুরেশ্বর, বাসুদেব, মহেশ, সাগর॥
গর্ভেশ্বর (সর্ব্বেশ্বর,) অনুজাত, মিশ্রনাথ জগন্নাথ, এক ভাবে সেবিলা শঙ্কর।
বিশেষ পুণ্যের ধাম, গুনীরাজ মিশ্র নাম, কবিচন্দ্র তার বংশধর॥
অনুজমুকুন্দ শর্ম্মা, সুকবি সুকৃতকর্ম্মা নানাশাস্ত্র মিশ্রয়ে বিদ্যান।
শিবরাম বংশধর কৃপাকর মহেশ্বর, রক্ষ পুত্র পৌত্রে ত্রিনয়ান॥
২১-২৪ পৃঃ, কবি, বিশ্ব সং।

2 জীবে দয়া, সাধুসঙ্গ, আত্মদৈন্য উক্তি। এই তিন কৃষ্ণদাসের স্বাভাবিক বৃত্তি॥
অদ্বৈত প্রকাশ, ১৭।

3 সেইসব লীলারস আপনে অনন্ত। সহস্রবদনে বর্ণে—নাহি পায় অন্ত॥
জীব ক্ষুদ্র-বুদ্ধি, তাহা কে পারে বর্ণিতে। তার এক কণা স্পর্শি আপনা শোধিতে॥
যত চেষ্টা, যত প্রলাপ, নাহি তার পার। সে সব বর্ণিতে হয় গ্রন্থ সুবিস্তার॥
বৃন্দাবন দাস প্রথম যে লীলা বর্ণিল। সেইসব লীলার আমি সূত্রমাত্র কৈল॥
তাঁর ত্যক্ত অবশেষ সংক্ষেপে কহিল। লীলার বাহুল্যে গ্রন্থ তথাপি বাড়িল॥

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"Infinite is the Divine Dalliance. It cannot be fully described even if the narrator has a thousand mouths. A created being is of but small intellect, how can he narrate that ? To have myself purified, I have only touched a very small particle of it. All these are wild efforts, there is no end of it. It would be a big volume indeed to give a full description. It is Bṛndāvana Dāsa who first gave a description of the 'līlā.' I give an outline only of those 'līlās'. I give only the outline of what

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অতএব সেইসব লীলা নারি বর্ণিবারে। সমাপ্ত করিল লীলাকে করি নমস্কারে ॥
যে কিছু কহিল এই দিগ্ দরশন। এই অনুসারে হবে আর আস্বাদন ॥
প্রভুর গম্ভীর লীলা না পারি বুঝিতে। বুদ্ধি প্রবেশ নাহি, তাতে না পারি বর্ণিতে ॥
সব শ্রোতা বৈষ্ণবের বন্দিয়া চরণ। চৈতন্যচরিত বর্ণন কৈল সমাপন ॥
আকাশ অনন্ত, তাতে যৈছে পক্ষিগণ। যার যত শক্তি তত করে আরোহণ ॥
ঐছে মহাপ্রভুর লীলা, নাহি ওর পার। জীব হঞা কেবা সম্যক্ পারে বর্ণিবার ॥
যাবৎ বুদ্ধির গতি, তাবৎ বলিল। সমুদ্রের মধ্যে যেন এক কণ ছুইল ॥
নিত্যানন্দ কৃপাপাত্র বৃন্দাবন দাস। চৈতন্যলীলার তেঁহো হয় আদি ব্যাস ॥
তাঁর আগে যদ্যপি সব লীলার ভাণ্ডার। তথাপি অল্প বর্ণিয়া ছাড়িলেন আর ॥

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চৈতন্যলীলামৃতসিন্ধু দুগ্ধাব্ধি সমান। তৃষ্ণারূপ ঝারী ভরি তেঁহো কৈল পান ॥
তাঁর ঝারীশেষামৃত কিছু মোরে দিলা। ততেকে ভরিল পেট, তৃষ্ণা মোর গেলা ॥
আমি অতি ক্ষুদ্রজীব, পক্ষী রাঙ্গা টুনি। সে যৈছে তৃষ্ণায় পিয়ে সমুদ্রের পানী ॥
তৈছে আমি এককণ ছুইল লীলার। এই দৃষ্টান্তে জানিহ প্রভুর লীলার বিস্তার ॥
'আমি লিখি' এহো মিথ্যা করি অভিমান। আমার শরীর কাষ্ঠপুতলী সমান ॥
বৃদ্ধ জরাতুর আমি অন্ধ বধির। হস্ত হালে, মানোবুদ্ধি নহে মোর স্থির ॥
নানা রোগগ্রস্ত, চলিতে বসিতে না পারি। পঞ্চ রোগের পীড়ায় ব্যাকুল, রাত্রিদিনে মরি ॥
পূর্ব্বগ্রন্থে ইহা করিয়াছি নিবেদন। তথাপি লিখিয়ে শুন ইহার কারণ ॥
শ্রীগোবিন্দ, শ্রীচৈতন্য, শ্রীনিত্যানন্দ। শ্রীঅদ্বৈত, শ্রীভক্ত, শ্রীশ্রোতৃবৃন্দ ॥

... ...

ইহাঁ সভার চরণকৃপায় লেখায় আমারে। আর এক হয় তেহোঁ অতিকৃপা করে ॥
শ্রীমদনগোপাল মোরে লেখায় আজ্ঞা করি। কহিতে না জুয়ায়, তভু রহিতে নাপারি
না কহিলে হয় মোর কৃতঘ্নতা দোষ। দম্ভ করি বলি শ্রোতা না করিহ রোষ ॥
তোমাসভার চরণধূলি করিনু বন্দন। তাতে চৈতন্যলীলা হৈল যেকিছু লিখন ॥

চৈ,চ, অন্ত্য, গ্রন্থ সমাপ্তি।

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he left out. But still the work has become voluminous owing to the largeness of the 'līlās' themselves. Therefore, being unable to describe them, I make obeisance to the 'līlās', and bring my work to an end. What I have said is only a side-view. This is the way in which the other portions are to be tasted. I cannot myself understand the Prabhu's 'līlā', which is very deep. My intelligence cannot discern it, my power of description fails. Revering the feet of all my Vaiṣṇava hearers, I bring my Caitanya-carita to an end. The sky is endless, but the birds try to rise as high as they can. So is Prabhu's 'līlā, which has no end. How can a created being describe it? I have said as far as my intelligence can reach. It is just like touching only one particle of the waters of the sea. Vṛndāvana Dāsa is specially favoured by Nityānanda. He is, as it were, the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-līlā. Although the whole store of the 'līlā' is in his charge, he has described only a small portion of it and gave up the rest. The nectarine Caitanyalīlā is like the sea of milk. He drank as much as could be contained in the 'jhārī' (a spouted vessel). He gave me a small quantity, the remnant in his 'jhārī', which has been quite enough to satisfy both my hunger and my thirst. I am a very small creature,—a red 'ṭuni' bird on the sea beach; just as that bird drinks a very small portion of the vast sea, so too, I have tasted a very small portion of Prabhu's līlā. By this analogy alone you should make an estimate of the vastness of the līlā. To say 'I write' is indicative of false vanity. My body is like a wooden idol. Moreover, I am old, infirm, wanting in eye-sight, and hard of hearing. My hand trembles, and my mind is not steady. I am afflicted with various infirmities, and cannot either walk or sit down at ease. Perplexed with five diseases, I die every day and every night. It is through the grace of the feet of Śrī Govinda, Śrī Caitanya, Śrī Nityānanda, Śrī Advaita, the loyal Vaiṣṇavas and the hearers that I am being made to write. They are all very merciful to me. Moreover, Śrī Madanagopāla causes me to write according to his kind order. Although it is not proper to disclose this, yet I cannot but say so. The crime of ingratitude falls on me if I do not disclose it. Therefore O my hearers, do not be angry by thinking that I am displaying vanity. I have revered the feet of you all, and by that meritorious act I have been able to finish my task."

Contrast with this the rather haughty expressions of the poet of the 'Caṇḍī-maṅgala',—"sings the poet, Śrī-Mukunda" "Cakravartī Śrī Kavikaṅkaṇa" "the younger, Mukunda Śarmā, who is an excellent

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poet, a performer of excellent deeds, well versed in the various śāstras, a Miśra (worthy), and an erudite scholar".[1]

Kavikaṅkaṇa does not seem to have been acquainted with the Vaiṣṇava etiquette of his time.

(*To be continued*)

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Astronomical Instruments of the Hindus

"The principal instrument," says Brennand, "used by the Hindu astronomers was the Moon, which, from the rapidity of her motion, and the known places of the fixed stars on each side of her path, was an efficient means of determining the positions and motions of the planets by referring them directly to the nearest *Yoga-tārās* of her path."

But to refer the moon to the nearest *Yoga-tārā*, it was necessary to determine a point of the Ecliptic, namely the point of intersection of the Ecliptic with the Meridian. This point was called by the Hindus the *Krānti-pāta*, the intersection of the Ecliptic with a circle of declination. The arc of the circle of declination from this point to the star, called the apparent latitude, and the arc of the Ecliptic from the same point to the beginning of the Asterism *Aśvinī*, or to the first point of *Meṣa*, called the star's apparent longitude, which were the necessary coordinates for the observations of the place of a star, required the help of some easy astronomical instruments ; and also for observing during the day the sun's altitude and amplitude some instrument of the nature of the sun-dial had to be constructed.

This was apparent even at the time of the Vedas. Though the Vedic priest ascertained the motion of the sun by observing with his unaided eye the nearest visible star,[2] yet there is mention of the fact

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1 লক্ষ্মীগুণকথা কবি শ্রীমুকুন্দ গায়।
উমাপদে হিতচিত রচিলা নূতন গীত চক্রবর্ত্তী শ্রীকবিকঙ্কণ ॥
'অম্বুজ মুকুন্দ শর্ম্মা সুকবি সুকৃত কর্ম্মা নানাশাস্ত্র মিশ্রয়ে বিদ্বান' ॥

2 Tait. Br., i, 5. 2, 1—Yat puṇyaṃ nakṣatraṃ tad baṣaṭkurvītopavyuṣam. Yadā vai sūrya udeti. Atha nakṣatram naiti. Yāvati tatra

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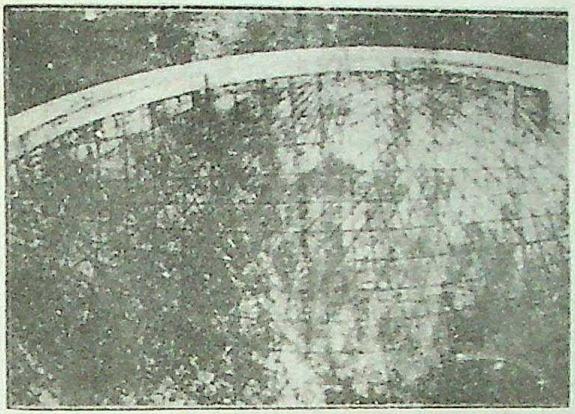
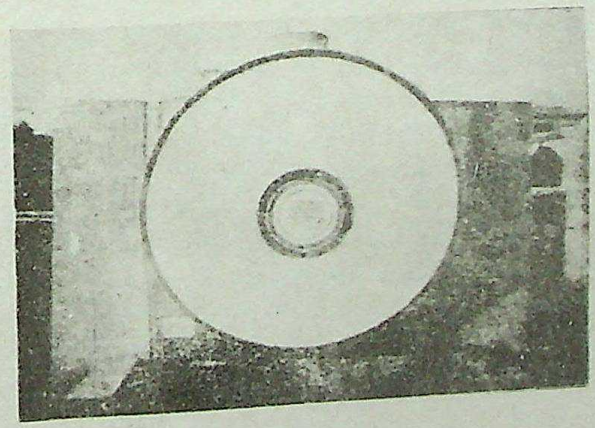


Kapala or Water-clock, Jaipur

Fig. 2



Nadivalaya yantra, Jaipur

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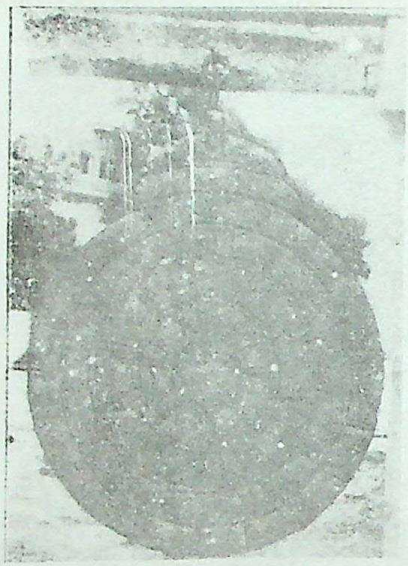
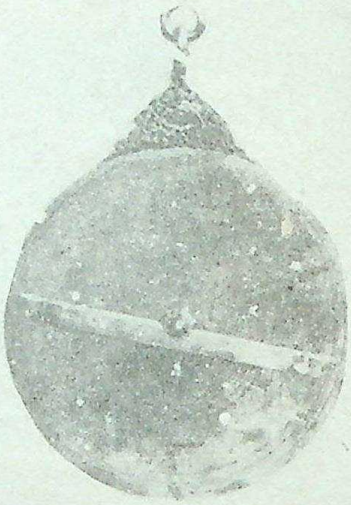
FIG. 4

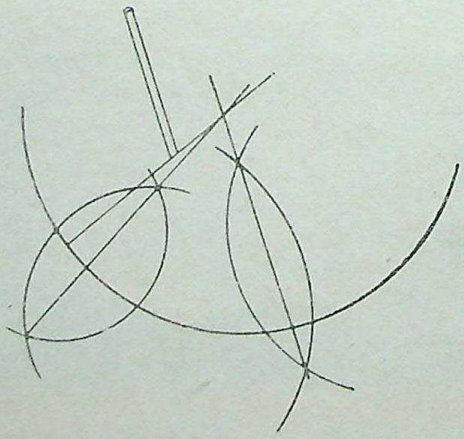


Astrolabe, Jaipur



Back of the Astrolabe, Jaipur

FIG. 5



Gnomon and the fish figures

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that Atri brought the sun back to view when enveloped in utter darkness by means of four Ṛks and the sons of Atri could alone release the sun from the engulfing darkness caused by a mighty power (राहु ?)[1]. Tilak while discussing the meaning of the expression तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणा considers that Atri observed the solar eclipse by means of the quadrant instrument. Tilak's argument on this point is interesting and deserves special consideration. He says, "The fortieth hymn in the fifth Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-veda is still more important in this connection. It shows that an eclipse of the sun was then first observed with any pretension to accuracy by Atri. It is thus that I understand the last verse in the hymn which, after describing the eclipse, says, "Atri alone knew him (sun), none else could".[2] This observation of the solar eclipse is noticed in the Śāṅkhāyana (24,3) and also in the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (iv, 5, 2 ; 6, 13), in the former of which it is said to have occurred three days previous to the Viṣuvan (the autumnal equinox). The observation thus appears to have attracted considerable attention in those days. It seems to have been a total eclipse of the sun, and the stars became visible during the time, for I so interpret the expression *bhubanāny adīdhayuḥ* in verse 5. In verse 6 we are told that "Atri knew (the eclipsed sun) by *turīya brahma*", and Sāyaṇa interprets the last two words to mean "the fourth verse or mantra". But the verse wherein these words occur is to be understood the "fourth" if we count from the sixth, i.e. the tenth verse. The explanation may be good from the ritualist point of view, but it appears to me to be quite unsatisfactory otherwise. I would rather interpret *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* to mean "by means of turīya." Turīya is mentioned in modern astronomical works as a name for an instrument called quadrant (Siddhāntaśiromaṇi xi, 15), and though we may not suppose the same instrument to have existed in the old Vedic days, yet there seems to be no objection to hold that it may have meant some instruments of observation. The word *Brahman* is no doubt used to denote a mantra, but it may also mean knowledge or the means of acquiring such knowledge. In Ṛv., ii, 2, 7 Sāyaṇa has himself interpreted

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sūryo gacchet. Yatra jaghanyam paṣyet. Tāvati kurvīta yatkārī syāt. Puṇyāha eva kurute. Tilak remarks, "The passage is very important as it describes the method of making celestial observations in old times."—Orion, p. 33.

1 Ṛg-veda., v, 40, 6 and 9.

2 Ṛg-veda., v, 40, 6.

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Brahman to mean some "act or action", and I see no reason why we should not understand the phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* in the above hymn to mean "by the action of turīya" or in other words, "by means of turīya," and thus give the whole hymn a simple and natural appearance."[1] There could be no other sensible explanation of the above two verses. Probably, Atri invented some instruments to observe eclipses whereby he could calculate the duration of full or partial solar eclipses and the last verse indicates that his descendants became conversant with observational astronomy by means of instruments.[2]

There is also mention of द्वादशाङ्गुल शङ्कु (Gnomon measuring 12 fingers) to measure the sun's shadow in the Atharva-veda.[3]

Then let us come to the text of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. Therein are stated instruments like clepsydra and Gnomon to measure time and to find out the exact time.[4] In fact, the Hindus became so skilful in the use of clepsydra that they could find out the exact time at a mere look at the instrument. Probably the Gnomon was then used to determine the motion of the sun and other planets and to find out their exact position.

The Hindus at a very early date found out that without the help of suitable instruments the position of a planet could not be determined. The observation of the increase and decrease of the shadow of a tree must have struck them with the idea of a Gnomon. It could be easily constructed. The construction of a *cakra* or circle and a quadrant was very simple. It is, therefore, not impossible that the Hindus at the time of the Vedas used some instruments especially the quadrant to observe the eclipses. But though the Gnomon was sufficient to measure the time during the day, it was not possible to use it after dusk. The clepsydra was, therefore, invented by the ancient Hindus. This instrument was in use till recently and it is even now found in some Hindu temples.

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1 Orion, pp. 159-160.

2 Vide Prof. Jogesh Chandra Roy's book—"Our Astronomy and Astronomers," p. 18.

3 अथर्ववेद विचार भाग p. 18; vide also the discussion in Bhāratīya Jyotiḥśāstra by S. B. Dikshit, p. 367.

4 The clepsydra consists of a metal bowl floating in a vessel of water where the amount of water that measures a nāḍikā (24 minutes) is given.

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The period of the Jyotiṣa Saṃhitās of which the Brahma Saṃhitā was the earliest came next. The main principles contained in the Saṃhitās are included in the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira. Hence we consider that the instruments mentioned in the Pañcasiddhāntikā probably belong to the age of the Saṃhitās.

A systematic development of Indian astronomy began with Āryabhaṭa in the fifth century A. C. (475 A. C.). But Āryabhaṭa did not set apart a special chapter for describing the instruments. In the course of general discussion he makes use of the gola (sphere) and cakra (circle) instruments.[1] Let us now deal with the instruments found in the texts of the Siddhāntas of later period :

1. Ghaṭi or Kapāla[2] (clepsydra or water-clock) is referred to in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, where the amount of water that measures a nāḍikā (24 minutes) is given.[3] The more ancient form of water-clock appears to have been simply a vessel with a small orifice at the bottom, through which the water flowed in a nāḍikā,[4] but later on there came into use the form described in the Sūryasiddhānta (chap. xiii, 23) : "A copper vessel (in the shape of the lower half of a water jar) which has a small hole in its bottom and being placed upon clean water in a basin sinks exactly 60 times in a day and night." The description in Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā[5] (505 A. C.) is similar, but adds, "or else a nāḍikā may be measured by the time in which sixty ślokas, each consisting of sixty long syllables, can be read out." The description of the water-clock given by Brahmagupta in his Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta[6] tallies with that given by the Sūryasiddhānta. Lallācārya describes this instrument at a good length.[7] He further adds in his description of the clepsydra:[8] "A copper vessel weighing 10 palas, 6 aṅgulas in height and twice as much in breadth at the mouth—this vessel of the capacity of 60 palas of

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1 Āryabhaṭiya, Golapāda, 22.

2 This is the instrument mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbarī (ed. Jarrett), III, 16.

3 Lala Chhotte Lal's Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, p. 12.

4 J. F. Fleet, The Indian Water-clock, J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 213. 230.

5 Pañcasiddhāntikā, chap. xiv, 32.

6 Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta, Yantrādhyāya, 41 and 42.

7 Lalla, Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Yantrādhyāya, 10, 11.

8 Ibid., 35.

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water and hemispherical in form is called a ghaṭi. The aforesaid copper vessel, bored with a needle made of $3\frac{1}{8}$ māṣas[1] (56 grains troy nearly) of gold and 4 aṅgulas long, gets filled in one nāḍikā." In practice, no doubt, the dimensions of the bowl and the orifice were determined by experiment. Rightly does Bhāskara say: "See how often it is filled and falls to the bottom of the pail of water on which it is placed. Divide 60 ghaṭis of day and night by the quotient and it will give the measure of the clepsydra."[2]

2. Śaṅku or gnomon is mentioned in the Atharva-veda as an instrument used to measure shadow. The sun-dial described in the early treatises is of the simplest kind, consisting of a vertical rod or gnomon, divided into twelve divisions. The Pañcasiddhāntikā says: "Mark from the centre three times the end of the gnomon's shadow, and then describe two fish figures.[3] Thereupon describe a circle, taking for radius a string that is fastened to the point in which the two strings issuing from the heads of the fish figures intersect, and that is so long as to reach the three points marked. On the given day the shadow of the gnomon moves in that circle, and the base of the gnomon is the south-north line, and the interval, in the north direction, is the mid-day shadow."[4] The Sūryasiddhānta remarks, "the gnomon is very useful by day when the sun is clear, and an excellent means of ascertaining time by taking its shadow."[5] The directions of the Sūryasiddhānta are more elaborate. They are as follows:—"On the surface of a stone levelled with water or on the levelled floor of Chunar work, describe a circle with a radius of a certain number of digits. At the centre set up the gnomon of twelve digits of the measure fixed upon; and where the extremity of its shadow touches the circle in the former and after parts of the day, there, fixing two points upon the circle, and calling them the forenoon and afternoon points, draw midway between them, by means of a fish figure, a north and south

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1 Fleet quotes another rule giving the weight as a suvarṇa (16 māṣas) and length 4 aṅgulas.

2 Siddhāntaśiromoṇi, Golādhyāya, chap, xi, verse 5.

3 *Timi* or fish figure is the space contained between two intersecting circles (see the figure).

4 Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. 79; English translation, chap. XIV, 14-16, by Thibaut and Bapudev Sastri.

5 Sūryasiddhānta, Chap. XIII, 24.

6 Sūryasiddhānta, Chap. XIII, 1-7.

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line ; midway between the north and south directions draw, by a fish figure, an east and west line ; and in like manner, also by the fish figures, between the four cardinal directions, draw the intermediate directions ; draw a circumscribing square by means of the lines going out from the centre ; by the digits of its base lines projected upon that is any shadow reckoned. The east and west line is called the prime vertical (samamaṇḍala) ; it is likewise denominated the east and west hour circle (unmaṇḍala) and the equinoctial circle (viṣuvan-maṇḍala) ; draw likewise an east and west line through the equinoctial shadow (viṣuvacchāyā) ; the interval between any given shadow and the equinoctial shadow is denominated the measure of the amplitude (agrā)". Brahmagupta describes the sun-dial thus :

Mūle dvyaṅgulavipulaḥ sūcyagro dvādaśāṅgulocchrāyaḥ/
Śaṅkutalāgraviddho' gravaidhalambād ṛjur jñeyaḥ//

Lalla gives a similar description and a more detailed one.[1] Of it Bhāskarācārya says, "take for a gnomon a cylindrical piece of ivory, and let it be turned on a lathe, taking care that the circumference is equal above and below ; from its shadow may be ascertained the points of the compass, the place of the observer, including latitude etc., and times."[2]

3. The cakra or circle, marked on its circumference with 360°, is suspended by a string, the beginning of the divisions being at the lowest point. At the centre is a thin axis perpendicular to its plane. When the instrument is turned so that its plane is coincident with a vertical circle passing through the sun, the shadow of the axis is thrown on some division of the circumference and the arc between this point and the lowest point, the zero of the divisions measures the zenith distance or co-latitude of the sun. It is also used for finding the longitude of a planet ; for if the instrument be inclined, and held or fixed so that any two of the stars Maghā (Regulus), Puṣyā (Canceri), Revatī (Piscium), or Śata-tārakā[3] (Aquarii), appear to touch the circumference, the plane of the circle will

1 Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Yantrādhyāya, 45-52.

2 Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, Chap. XI, verse 9.

3 It is interesting to note that the mention of a hundred physicians in Ṛv., 1, 24,9 may be taken to represent the asterism Śata-bhiṣaj or Śatatārakā, presided over by Varuṇa according to the later lists of Nakṣatras in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Vide Orion, p. 159.

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coincide with the plane of the ecliptic, since these stars have no longitude. (Citrā or Spica, whose longitude is inconsiderable and other stars near the Ecliptic would appear also to touch the circumference). The latitude of a planet which is generally small, has its orbit nearly in the same plane with that of the ecliptic Looking, then, through a slit at the zero point of the circle, so that the planet appears opposite the axis, the position of the circle then remaining fixed, the eye is moved along the lower part of the circumference, so that any one of the above stars is seen opposite the axis, the arc between the two positions of the eye being the difference of longitude between the planet and the star; but the longitude of the star being known, that of the planet will also be known.[1] This instrument is also referred to in the Sūryasiddhānta in a general way.[2] Brahmagupta in his Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta has devoted a couplet to the description of this instrument.[3]

Āryabhaṭa[4] mentions this instrument and so does Lalla.[5] But Varāhamihira has not mentioned it. However, this was a very simple instrument and it is believed that the Hindus used this instrument even at the time of the Vedas. Two such instruments can be seen in the Observatory at Jaipur (6ft. in diameter) and one at Benares (3ft 7 inches in diameter).

4. Cāpa—The half of a circle is called a cāpa. This instrument is mentioned only in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi.

5. Turīya or quadrant—The half of a semi-circle is called a turīya or quadrant. This is perhaps the oldest instrument mentioned by many old astronomers. I have already referred to its existence even at the time of the Vedas. But it is strange that Āryabhaṭa, Lalla, Brahmagupta and the present text of the Sūryasiddhānta do not take any notice of this instrument.

6. Pīṭha is a circle with an upward staff attached to it. It is mentioned only in Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta and Lalla's Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida.[6]

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1 Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, Chap. XI, 10-15.
2 Sūryasiddhānta, Chap. XIII, 20.
3 Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta, Yantrādhyāya, 18.
4 Āryabhaṭiya, Golapāda, Āryā 22.
5 Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Yantrādhyāya.
6 Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Yantrādhyāya, verse 25.

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7. Yaṣṭi[1] or staff is described at a considerable length in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi. Having drawn a circle (as the horizon) with a radius equal to the radius of a great circle, mark east and west points (and the line joining these points is called the prācyaparā or east and west line) and mark off (from them) the amplitude at the east and west. Draw a circle from the same centre with a radius equal to a cosine of declination, i.e., with a radius of the diurnal circle, and mark this circle with 60 ghaṭis. Now take the Yaṣṭi, equal to the radius of the great circle and hold it with its point to the sun, so that no shadow be reflected from it; the other point should rest in the centre. Then measure the distance from the end of the amplitude to the point of the Yaṣṭi when thus held opposite to the sun. This distance applied as a chord within the interior circle will cut off, if it be before mid-day, an arc of the number of ghaṭikās from sun-rise, and if after mid-day an arc of the time to sun-set.[2] Brahmagupta makes a passing reference to this instrument. But Lalla describes it more fully.[3]

8. Dhanus or arc is only mentioned in the Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta and Siddhāntaśiromaṇi.

9. Kartarī is another instrument of the same type which has found place in Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta and Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida only.[4]

10. Bhāskara invented another instrument called Phalaka Yantra which is a development of the Cakra Yantra.[5] He says, "This is an excellent instrument, calculated to remove always the darkness of

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1 For the description of this instrument, vide S. B. Dikshit's Bhāratīya Jyotiḥśāstra, p. 348.

2 It is plain from this that the distance from the point of the staff to the end of the amplitude is the chord of the arc of the diurnal circle passing through the sun, intercepted between the horizon and the sun; for this reason, the arc subtended by the distance in question in this interior circle described with a radius of the diurnal circle which is equal to the cosine of the declination will denote the time after sun-rise or to sun-set (vide footnotes by Bapudev Sastri under verses 28-30, Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, chap. xi).

3 Śiṣyadhīvṛddhīda, Yantrādhyāya, verses 48-50.

4 Ibid., verse 24; also Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta, Yantrādhyāya, verse 44.

5 Compare the description given by Delambre, Astronomie du Moyen Age, p. 521.

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ignorance and is the delight of clever astronomers." This instrument is simply a board divided by horizontals into 90 equal parts which will be also digits. At the centre of the 30th graduation from the top of a pin or style is placed perpendicular to the board, and round it a circle drawn of radius = 30 divisions, which is graduated in 60 ghaṭis and 360 degrees, each degree being subdivided into 10 palas; and attached to the pin is an index arm (paṭṭika) with a hole at one end and made of the length of 60 digits.[1] This instrument is suspended by a chain, and is used for observational purposes. It is in fact a kind of an astrolabe to be found in the Observatory at Jaipur.[2]

The gnomon (śanku), staff (yaṣṭi), arc (dhanuḥ), circle (cakra), half-circle (cāpa), quadrant (turīya), phalaka, pīṭha and kartarī are instruments used for taking the shadow of various kinds.

11. A Svayaṃvaha or self-revolving instrument is thus described in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi: "Make a wheel of light wood in its circumference; put hollow spokes all having bores of the same diameter, and let them be placed at equal distances from each other; and let them also be all placed at angles somewhat verging from the perpendicular; then half fill these hollow spokes with mercury; the wheel thus filled will, when placed on an axis supported by two posts, revolve of itself."[3] The Sūryasiddhānta also speaks of several self-revolving instruments used for measuring time. "A self-revolving sphere is to be made with its axis directed to the poles. The lower part of it is to be covered by wax-cloth, and it is to be made to rotate by the force of a current of water for the knowledge of the passage of time."[4] Also "a wheel with hollow spokes half filled with mercury, or water, or a mixture of oil and water will be made to revolve by itself."[5] Lalla's description of a self-revolving instrument is similar to that of the Śiddhāntaśiromaṇi. Probably, Bhāskara based his description of this instrument on that of Lalla[6] and developed it further.

In this connection Sūryasiddhānta described many other unimportant instruments. It says, "By water instruments, the kapāla

1 Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, chap. xii, verses 18-22.
2 Vide the annexed figure.
3 Siddhāntaśiromoṇi, Golādhyāya, chap. xi, 50-51.
4 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. xiii, verse 16.
5 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. xiii, verse 7.
6 Lalla, Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Yantrādhyāya, verses 18, 19.

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(hemisphere) etc., by the peacock, man, monkey, and by stringed sand receptacles, one may determine time accurately. Quick-silver-holes, water, and cords, ropes and oil and water, mercury and sand are used in these. So also a dial (nara-yantra) is good in day-time, and when the sun is clear.[1]

12. Golayantra or Armillary sphere is described at a considerable length by all the ancient astronomers beginning from Āryabhaṭa. Varāhamihira, Lalla, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara paid much attention to this instrument. The Armillary Sphere was, however, of a nature too complicated to be used as an instrument for making accurate observations, and was rather for the purposes of explanation, and of giving instructions on the numerous circles and motions of the several spheres of which it was composed.

Generally it consisted of at least three separate spheres[2] on wood, on the same polar axis, or Dhruvayaṣṭi. "First, fix a celestial sphere named the Khagola, composed of circles for a given latitude, such as the horizon, the equinoctial, the meridian, the prime vertical, the six o'clock hour circle, the vertical circles through the north-east and north-west points of the horizon; the names of these circles are respectively called the Kṣitija, the Nāḍī-vṛtta (marked with 60 ghaṭikās), the Yāmyottara-vṛtta, the Sama-maṇḍala, the Unmaṇḍala, the two Koṇa-vṛttas with other circles, which always remain the same for the same place. Besides these fixed circles, a moveable altitude and azimuth circle is attached, by a pair of pins, to the zenith and nadir points of the Khagola, for showing the altitude or azimuth of any star. The horizon is divided in degrees, either from the meridian line or from the east and west points. Secondly, moveable within and round the axis of the Khagola was the starry sphere named the Bhagola, which comprised the Ecliptic, with the paths also of the moon and planets, named Kṣepa-vṛtta, the circles of declination, or Krānti, the diurnal circles called Ahorātra-vṛttas; the azimuth circle through the nonagesimal point (tribha lagna or tribhoṇa) is called the Dṛk-kṣepa-vṛtta. The Bhagola is supported within the Khagola by means of two supporting circles called the Adhara-vṛttas, corresponding with the meridian and horizon of the Khagola. Thirdly, on the axis of the Khagola produced, a third sphere is supported. It is called the Dṛggola, or Double Sphere, which is a system in which the

1 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. xiii, verses 21-24

2 See the annexed figure.

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circles of the Khagola are mixed with those of the Bhagola. The Khagola and Dṛggola remain fixed, while the Bhagola alone revolves."[1]

Sūryasiddhānta gives instructions for the marking of an elaborate Armillary Sphere.[2] It says :—"Having fashioned an earth globe of wood, of the desired size, fix a staff, passing through the midst of it and protuding at either side for Meru ; and likewise a couple of sustaining bands and the equinoctical circle ; these are to be made with graduated divisions (aṅgula) of degrees of the circle (bhagaṇa). Further, by means of the several day radii, as adapted to the scale established for those circles, and, by means of the degrees of declination and latitude marked off upon the latter, at their own respective distances in declination, according to the declination of Aries etc., three bands are to be prepared and fastened ; these answer also inversely for Cancer, etc. In the same manner, three for Libra, etc., answering also inversely for Capricorn, etc. ; and, situated in the southern hemisphere are to be made and fastened to the two band supporters. Those, likewise, of the asterisms situated in the southern and northern hemispheres, of Abhijit, of the seven sages (saptarṣis), of Agastya, of Brahma, etc., are to be fixed. Just in the midst of all, the equinoctial band is fixed. Above the points of intersection of that and the supporting bands are the two solstices (ayana) and the two equinoxes (viṣuvat). From the place of the equinox, with the exact number of degrees, as proportioned to the whole circle, fix by oblique chords the spaces (kṣetra) of Aries and the rest ; and so likewise, another band running obliquely from solstice to solstice, and called the circle of declination (krānti) ; upon that the sun constantly revolves giving light ; the moon and the other planets also by their own nodes, which are situated in the ecliptic (apamaṇḍala), being drawn away from it, are beheld at the limit of their removal in latitude (vikṣepa) from the corresponding point of declination. The orient ecliptic point (lagna) is that of the orient horizon, the occident point (astaṃ gacchat) is similarly determined. The meridian ecliptic point (madhyama) is as calculated by the equivalents in right ascension (laṅkodaya) for mid-heaven (hamadhya) above. The sine which is between the meridian and the horizon (kṣitija) is

1 Brennand, Hindu Astronomy, p. 108.

2 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. xiii, 3-16 (Burgess and Whitney's translation).

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styled the day-measure (antya), and the sine of the sun's ascensional distance (caradala) is to be recognised as the interval between the equator and the horizon. Having turned upward one's own place, the circle of the horizon is midway of the sphere. As covered with a casing (vastra) and as left uncovered, it is the sphere surrounded by Lokāloka. By the application of water is made ascertainment of the revolution of time."

Brahmagupta deals with the Armillary Sphere more in the Golādhyāya than in the Yantrādhāya of his Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta. He says: prācyaparaṃ samamaṇḍalam anyad yāmyottaraṃ kṣitijam anyat parikaravat tanmadhye bhūgolas tat-sthitadraṣṭuḥ i.e. on it one circle called the samamaṇḍala or the prime vertical has its plane stretching north and south; another is termed the Yāmyottara vṛtta or meridian; yet another called the Kṣitija or horizon encircles the other two like a girdle. At the common centre of these circles is the observer located on the earth (verse 48).

Also, "inasmuch as an observer on the earth finds a planet in the circumference of the upper half of the azimuth circle (dṛgmaṇḍala), it turns with the planet" (verse 55). Pṛthūdaka Svāmī, the commentator of Brahmagupta, in his commentary, quotes at length a detailed account of the Golayantra or Armillary Sphere from earlier writers.[1] Lalla describes it in detail.[2] Bhāskara follows the description of Lalla very closely and says, "This instrument is to be made, placing the Bhagola starry sphere, which consists of the ecliptic, diurnal circles, the moon's path, and the circles of declination etc., within the Khagola celestial sphere, which consists of the horizon, meridian, prime vertical, six o'clock line, and other circles which remain fixed in a given latitude. Bring the place of the sun on the ecliptic to the eastern horizon; and mark the point of the equinoctial (in the Bhagola) intersected by the horizon, viz., east point. Having made the horizon as level as water, turn the Bhagola westward till the sun throws its shadow on the centre of the earth. This distance from the mark made will represent the time from sun-rise. The Lagna or horoscope will then be found in that point of the ecliptic which is cut by the horizon."[3]

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1 Vide notes in the chapter called Tripraśnādhikāra in Brahmagupta's Khaṇḍakhādyaka where a detailed description of Golayantra by Pṛthūdaka Svāmin has been quoted.

2 Lalla, Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Yantrādhyāya, verses 3 ff.

3 Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, chap. vi.

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In this connection Bhāskara gives a brief description of another instrument which is called the Nāḍī-valaya,[1] a circle representing the Equinotical divided into ghaṭikās, and on it are the positions of the 12 signs, calculated to correspond with their oblique ascensions or risings at the place of observation. It is used in connection with the Khagola, whose axis casts a shadow on the circle, and is, in fact, an equatorial dial, the ghaṭikā being 2/5 of an hour. Bhāskara describes it in the following verses:[2] "Take a wooden circle and divide its outer rim into 60 ghaṭikās; then place the twelve signs of the Ecliptic on both sides, but instead of making each sign of equal extent, they must be made each with such variable arcs as shall correspond with their periods of rising in the place of observation (the twelve periods are to be thus marked on either side, which are to be again each subdivided into two horās (or hours), three drekkāṇas, into navāṃśas or ninths of 3° i.e. 20′ each, twelfths of 2° i.e. 10′ and into triṃśāṃśas or thirtieths. These are called the ṣaḍvargas or six classes). These signs, however, must be inscribed in the inverse order of the signs, that is 1st Aries, then Taurus to the west or right of Aries, and so on. Then place this circle on the polar axis of the Khagola at the centre of the earth (the polar axis should be elevated to the height of the pole). Now find the sun's longitude in signs, degrees etc. for the sun-rise of the given day (by calculation) and find the same degrees in the circle. Mark there the sun's place, turn the circle round the axis, so that the shadow of the axis will fall on the mark of the sun's place at sunrise and then fix the circle. Now as the sun arises, the shadow of the axis will advance from the mark made for the point of sun-rise to the nādir (adhaḥ śvastika) and will indicate the hour from sunrise and also the lagna (horoscope); the number of hours will be found on the shadow itself."

Colebrooke in his essay on the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiac[3] gives a detailed account of the Armillary Sphere with the graduated circles, and remarks, "The instrument being thus placed, the observer is instructed to look at the star Revatī, through a sight fitted to an orifice, at the centre of the sphere; and, having

1 This instrument is still found at the observatories of Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares. See the annexed figure.

2 Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, B. D. Sastri's edition, chap. vi, 5-7.

3 Asiatic Researches, vol. 9.

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found the star, to adjust, by it, the end of the sign Pisces on the Ecliptic. The observer is then to look through the sight, at the Yoga-tārā of Āsvinī, or of some other proposed object, and to bring the movable circle of the declination over it. The distance in degrees from the intersection of this circle and Ecliptic to the end of Mīna or Pisces is its longitude, dhruvāṃsa in degrees; and the number of degrees on the movable circle of declination, from the same intersection to the place of the star, is its latitude, Vikṣepa, North or South."[1]

This is a detailed account of all the instruments used by the Hindus from very early times. The astronomical instruments of the observatories of Jai Singh have not been mentioned, though a passing reference has sometimes been made, inasmuch as they are very recent and belong to the eighteenth century A.D. Jai Singh studied Hindu, Muslim and European methods impartially and made use of both Hindu and Muslim instruments in his observatories. However, when everything is said, we must conclude by remarking that there is no living trace of most of the early astronomical instruments anywhere in India. It is desirable that Indian astronomers should try to revive the more important instruments by a careful study of the Hindu astronomical works.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

1 Armillary Sphere can be found at Jaipur and at Kotah.

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Why are the Bahubali Colossi called 'Gommaṭa'?

There are three[1] Digambara Jaina colossi in South India, all of which were raised to the memory of Bāhubalī, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Śrī Ṛṣabhanātha, by his second wife, Sunandā Devī. These represent him as standing upright in pratimāyoga just before his attainment of perfection. The striking thing about these colossi is that all the three are universally known by the name of 'Gommaṭa', 'Gomaṭa', 'Gomaṭṭa', 'Gummaṭa',[2] or with an affix 'Iśvara' added in honour of the divinity of Bāhubalī, thus, 'Gommaṭeśvara' etc., amongst Jainas as well as non-Jainas, as if they were the images, not of Bāhubalī but of some other perfected being of the Jaina mythology known only as 'Gommaṭa' etc. (or Gommaṭeśvara etc.). It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the reasons why and how these colossi of Bāhubalī came to be known by the novel appellation which Bāhubalī certainly did not have.

It may be noted here that Bāhubalī had no such name for himself as Gommaṭa etc., nor, in fact, any other name, for none of the other names 'Bhujabalī', 'Dorbalī' etc., by which he has been called, is any distinct *alter nomen*. They are identical in sense with one another, the words 'Bāhu', 'Bhuja', 'Doḥ' etc. signifying one and the same thing (bāhu=bhuja=doḥ=arm). It may also be noted here that the *earliest* of the three colossi, viz., the one installed by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (or Cāvuṇḍa Rāya) at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā, first came to be popularly called by the name 'Gommaṭa' etc. (or 'Gommaṭeśvara' etc); and when in course of time, similar colossi were installed at Kārkala and Venur, they also were called alike after their great archetype at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā. Therefore it will suffice for our

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1 The three colossi stand at the three following places: (1) 'Śrāvaṇa Belgolā' in Mysore State, installed in 981 A. C.: height 57ft.; (2) 'Kārkala' in South Kanara district, installed in 1432 A. C.: height 41½ ft.; and (3) 'Venur' in South Kanara district, installed in 1603 A. C.: height 35ft. All these colossi belong to the 'Digambara' sect of the Jainas.

2 Gommaṭa, Gomaṭa, Gomaṭṭa, Gummaṭa are variants of the same name, of which the first seems to be the earliest form.

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purpose to enquire only the reasons why the original colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā came to be so called.

Elsewhere[1] I have tried to prove that the installation of the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya must have taken place in 981 A.C. It is a settled fact that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could not have installed it before 978 A.C ; for had it been installed before that date, he would never have failed to mention the fact in the narration of his various deeds (and the enumeration of his various titles he secured thereby), which he has so faithfully recounted in his great Kanarese prose work, the "Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa," otherwise called as the "Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa' after himself. This work, as recorded in itself, was finished on the 18th of February, 978 A.C. No less settled is the fact that the colossus had been installed before 993 A.C., as the great Kanarese poet 'Ratna' or 'Ranna' refers in his Kanarese poem 'Ajita-tīrthaṅkara-purāṇa-tilaka' (or 'Ajita-purāṇa'), which he finished in October, 993 A.C., to a pilgrimage made by his patroness 'Attimabbe' to the 'Jineśvara (known as) the lofty Kukkuṭeśvara'[2] (Ajita-purāṇa, I, 61) which is none other than the

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1 See the Kanarese monthly journal, the 'Karṇāṭaka Keśarī' of Puttur (South Kanara), vol. I, August and September, 1927.

2 That the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus is known both as 'Kukkuṭeśvara' and 'Dakṣiṇa Kukkuṭeśvara' (Kukkuṭeśvara of the South) is amply borne out by the following inscriptions at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā ('Epigraphia Carnatica', vol. II, Revised Ed.) :

(1) No. 234 (circa 1183 A.C.)

(3) No. 335 (1195 A.C.)

(4) No. 349 (1159 A.C.)

(5) No. 397 (1118 A.C.)

It is said that, though Bāhubalī became 'world-victor's victor, on his victory over his elder brother, Bharata, in the agressive war the latter had waged against him, he took the victory with remorse and felt disgust for the world, the effect being a total renouncement on his part. He stood in penance in 'pratimāyoga' for one full year when strange venomous creatures called 'Kukkuṭa-sarpa' (i.e., fowls with hoods of serpents) coiled all around his body, in consequence whereof he came to be known as 'Kukkuṭeśvara'. When, long after, the colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā was raised to him, it also generally came to be known as 'Kukkuṭeśvara' and specifically as 'Dakṣiṇa Kukkuṭe-

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Gommaṭeśvara colossus of Bāhubalī at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā. This reference in the 'Ajita-purāṇa' of Ranna is of great importance in that the poet, who was himself a protégé of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya also,[1] speaks of the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus by its mythological name Kukkuṭeśvara (Ajita-purāṇa, I, 61), and not by the actual and popular name it has had for centuries thereafter, i.e., 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭeśvara'. The significance of this nonfeasance (if at all it could be such) is enhanced by the fact that both the words Kukkuṭa and Gommaṭa (or Gomaṭa or Gummaṭa) being alike dactyls ('Bha'-gaṇa), the name Gommaṭa suits the metre as precisely and exactly as Kukkuṭa and therefore "unnata Gommaṭeśvara Jineśvarāṇām" fits in with the verse as correctly *metri causa* as "unnata Kukkuṭeśvara Jineśvarāṇām" which is found in it. Hence the irresistible conclusion is that the colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā had not become famous as 'Gommaṭeśvara' till at least 993 A.C., when Ranna finished his poem 'Ajita-purāṇa'.

Now all the Jainas in these parts and in Karṇaṭaka as well as the Jaina and non-Jaina scholars who have dealt with the subject of the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus are of one opinion that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, who installed it, had also another name 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya'—by which name he has been addressed in the 'Gommaṭasāra' of Nemicandra —wherefore the image installed by him came *ipso facto* to be called after him as 'Gommaṭeśvara' and this name is explained as 'Gomaṭasya (Cāmuṇḍarāyasya) + Iśvaraḥ', i.e., 'the God of (i.e., the God installed and worshipped by) Gommaṭa (Cāmuṇḍa Rāya). But the several facts that have been set forth below will suffice, I hope, to indicate that this opinion is not correct.

śvara' to be distinguished from the original (mythological) colossus believed to have been raised to him at 'Paudanapura' by his brother, the emperor Bharata, as an act of penitence for his unrighteous war; and it is said that the Paudanapura colossus also was infested with the same hooded fowls, and therefore came to be called Kukkuṭeśvara: the 1st quotation above (no: 234 Śrāvaṇa Belgolā Inscription) refers to that Paudanapura colossus.

1 Ranna says that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was 'very great alike in rectitude, benevolence and piety' (Ajita-purāṇa, XII, 9), and speaks of him as 'the lord of indomitable prowess, who was his (Ranna's) benefactor' ('Ajita-purāṇa', XII, 48); moreover the poet named his own son as 'Rāya' after the title 'Rāya' which Cāmuṇḍa Rāya deservedly received from his king Rācamalla IV.—(Ajita-purāṇa, XII, 53).

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Neither in the eulogy of himself inscribed on the north face of the 'Brahmadeva Pillar' at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā (no. 281, Śrāvaṇa Belgolā Inscriptions), nor in his Triṣaṣṭilakṣmaṇa-mahāpurāṇa' (or Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa) nor in the colophon of his Sanskrit prose work, the 'Cāritrasāra', does Cāmuṇḍa Rāya seem to have had the name 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya' either as an additional name of himself or as a supplementary title; nor does his protégé, the poet Ranna, anywhere in his 'Ajita-purāṇa' call his patron 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya'. It may not therefore be unreasonable nor inaccurate to conclude that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could not have had any such name till at least 993 A.C.

The poet 'Doḍḍayya' of Pirīyapaṭṭaṇa in his Sanskrit work 'Bhujabalī-śataka' written in 1550 A. C., says that when at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya stood on the smaller hill, 'Candragiri', and shot arrows at the bigger one, 'Indragiri' or 'Vindyagiri,' the Gommaṭa of Paudanapura manifested himself on the latter hill, whereupon the said Cāmuṇḍa Rāya granted a large number of villages for the daily worship of that god. On hearing this munificence his king Rācamalla or Rāja-malla bestowed upon him the exalted title of 'Rāya'.[1] Now the fact that in this 'Bhujabalī-śataka' the original and pre-historic (though more or less mythological) colossus raised at Paudanapura by the emperor Bharata to his brother Bāhubalī is called the 'Gommaṭa of Paudanapura', and the fact that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya is not called by that name, is evidence enough to prove that the colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā could not have derived its name 'Gommaṭa' from its installer Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, but on the contrary, it was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya that must have acquired his new name 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya' only because of his having installed a 'Gommaṭa' colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā. Thus it is patent that the image of Bāhubalī (at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā) itself must have first acquired the new name, whence and whereafter Cāmuṇḍa Rāya got his new name as a reflex.

That Cāmuṇḍa Rāya had the special name or title 'Rāya' bestowed upon him by his king is amply borne out by the following

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1 'Śrāvaṇa Belgolā Inscriptions' (Epigr. Carnat., vol. II, Introd. pp. 14, 15).

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references, each of which is of an earlier date than the 'Bhujavalī-śataka'.

(1) The poet Ranna named his son 'Rāya' after Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (Ajita-purāṇa, XII, 51, 53).

(2) Another protégé of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, the Kanarese poet Nāgavarman says in the 'Chandombudhi', a treatise on Kanarese prosody, that "his protector (i.e., patron) is one (who is called) 'Nṛpa' and 'Aṇṇa', both of which are the titles of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, and of which the former is but a synonym of 'Rāya', meaning 'a king,' and the latter 'an elder brother.'

(3) Inscriptions nos. 73, 125 and 251 (all of 1118 A.C.) at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā have the following: "Is not Gaṅgarāja[1] a hundredfold more fortunate than the Rāya of the Gaṅgas (=kings of the Gaṅga dynasty) of yore?" Here 'Rāya' of course is Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, who was the minister as well as the general of three kings of the Gaṅga dynasty (i.e., the Western Gaṅgas of Talakād), viz., Mārasiṃha, Rācamalla IV and Rakkasa Gaṅga.

(4) Inscription no. 345 (1159 A.C.) at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā also says:

"If it be asked who at first were the promoters of the immutable Jina doctrine, only Rāya (i.e., Cāmuṇḍa Rāya), the excellent minister of king Rācamalla....."

Moreover, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya does not call himself 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya' in the three inscriptions on the colossus itself, which must have been, without doubt, engraved at his own instance, and which are as follows:

(i) No. 175.—"Śrī Cāmuṇḍa Rāya caused to be made—"what and when is not stated (this inscription is in old Kanarese language and alphabet).

(ii) No. 176.—"Śrī Cāmuṇḍa Rāya caused to be made—"what and when is not stated (the language of this inscription is Tamil, but as regards the script, the first two words are in what is called 'Grantha' characters, and the last one is in the 'Vatteluttu' characters.

(iii) No. 179.—"Śrī Cāmuṇḍa Rāya caused to be made—" what and when is not stated. (This inscription is in Mārāṭhī language and Nāgari script).

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1 This Gaṅgarāja was the commander-in-chief of king Viṣṇu-vardhana of the 'Hośala' dynasty, and also the builder of the enclosure around the colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā.

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These three inscriptions, which record the earliest references to the installation, clearly show that neither was the colossus called 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭeśvara') nor could Cāmuṇḍa Rāya have any such name at the time of the installation.

If therefore the colossus or for the matter of that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was called 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭeśvara') neither at the time of the installation, nor perhaps till at least 993 A. C.,[1] when did the colossus then come to be called 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭeśvara') and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya')?

A glance at the index of the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā inscriptions, (Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. II, Index, p. 13) will show in how many of them, has the colossus been called Gomaṭa, Gomaṭa-deva, Gomaṭeśa, Gomaṭeśvara, Gommaṭa-jina, Gommaṭa-nātha, etc. Of these nos. 73 and 125 (1118 A.C.), which are the earliest to contain this name, have Gommaṭa-deva, and the same mention Cāmuṇḍa Rāya as the Rāya of the Gaṅgas (i.e., the king of the Gaṅga dynasty) of yore, and not at all as 'Gommaṭa Rāya', though, be it noted, 'Gommaṭa Rāya' instead suits the metre exactly. From this I am tempted to conclude that the colossus had already become famous as 'Gommaṭa' (or Gommaṭa-deva), whereas Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was not known to have had any such name, or if he had, the fact was quite forgotten. No. 234 of Śrāvaṇa Belgolā inscriptions (1180 A.C.) which calls the image by such names as Gommaṭa-jina, Gommaṭa-deva, Gommaṭa-nātha, Gommaṭeśvara and also simply as Gommaṭa, names Cāmuṇḍa Rāya also as Gommaṭa.[2]

But as all these inscriptions are much posterior in date to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya as well as to his installation of the colossus, we shall see if still earlier and contemporary references are available.

The earliest mention of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya as 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya' is in the Prakrit work called 'Pañcasaṃgraha' or 'Gommaṭasāra' which Nemicandra Siddhānta Cakrabartī wrote expressly for and addressed to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya himself.[3]

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1 Vide Supra.

2 (1) Gommaṭa (i.e., Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) thus caused this god (i.e., the image of the god Bāhubalī) to be made; (2) 'Was it not Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, alias Gommaṭa, who is an equal of Manu, that thus caused this god (i.e., this image of the god Bāhubali) to be made with (great) effort?'

3 Gommaṭasāra, Karmakāṇḍa, verses 968, 969, 971 and 972.

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Though the date of the composition of this 'Gommaṭasāra' is not known, it is an indubitable fact that it could not have been composed by Nemicandra before he became acquainted with and was accepted as a guru by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. The commentary written upon it by Abhayacandra says that the work was composed by Nemicandra for the reading and enlightenment of, as well as in response to the questions raised by, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya himself.[1] As however neither the poet Ranna, nor Nāgavarman mention Cāmuṇḍa Rāya by the name of Gommaṭa (or Gommaṭa Rāya), it may not be unfair to conclude that Nemicandra must have composed his 'Gommaṭasāra' only after 993 A. C. Again in the 'Trilokasāra', another work in Prakrit by Nemicandra, which also, as said in the commentary written thereon by Mādhavacandra, a direct disciple of Nemicandra, and therefore a contemporary both of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya and Nemicandra, seems to have been composed for the enlightenment of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya,[2] he is not called by the name of 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya'). It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that Nemicandra wrote his 'Trilokasāra' prior to his writing of the Gommaṭasāra. The opening verse of the 'Trilokasāra' also corroborates this fact. Mādhavacandra, contemporary of both Nemicandra and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, in commenting upon this verse, says that one of the several meanings of this verse suggests Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's supplication to his preceptor Nemicandra; and 'what sort of Nemicandra ?—he, at whose feet both Cāmuṇḍa Rāya and his king Rācamalla bowed down.' This statement of a contemporary suffices to prove that Nemicandra was the preceptor not only of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, but also of his king Rācamalla ; and the further fact that this opening verse refers to the prostration of king Rācamalla at the feet of Nemicandra will no less suffice to prove that Nemicandra must have written the 'Trilokasāra', while the king was yet alive, i. e., before 984 A.C. (as Rācamalla IV reigned from 974 A.C. to 984 A. C.). As Cāmuṇḍa Rāya has nowhere been called in the 'Trilokasāra' by the name of 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya), it goes without saying that he could have received that name only after 984 A.C. (when Rācmalla died).

Now, when could Nemicandra have come into contact with Cāmuṇḍa Rāya and become his 'guru' ? Before discussing this

1 Vide the Introduction (p. 40) to the 'Dravyasaṃgraha' ('Sacred Books of the Jainas', vol. 1).

2 Trilokasāra, p. 2.

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question, we have to turn our attention to another and earlier 'guru' of both Cāmuṇḍa Rāya and king Rācamalla, who was none other than the famous 'Ajitasena' of Baṅkāpura ;[1] for it was he, who officiated at the ceremony of the installation of the Śrāvaṇa Belagolā colossus, and not Nemicandra.

(1) This Ajitasena was the preceptor of Mārasiṃha, Rācamalla and Rakkasa Gaṅga, the three successive kings of the Gaṅga dynasty, of whom Mārasiṃha is said to have died by penance at the feet of Ajitasena at Baṅkāpura.[2]

(2) The poet Ranna also speaks of him in his Ajita-purāṇa as his own as well as the Gaṅga kings' 'guru' (I, 7) ; and further down in the same poem, he couples the name of Ajitasena with that of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, whom he calls his benefactor (XIII, 48). In the colophon to every canto of the same poem, he calls himself as Ajitasena's disciple.

(3) Ajitasena was also the preceptor of another protégé of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, viz., the Kanarese poet Nāgavarman, who says in his 'Chandombudhi' : 'My king is king Rakkasa Gaṅga, the famous Ajitasena is my preceptor and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya is my benevolent patron'.

(4) In the colophon to his Kanarese work, the 'Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa,' Cāmuṇḍa Rāya calls himself the disciple of Ajitasena.[3]

(5) According to Srāvaṇa Belgolā inscription no. 121 (circa 995 A.C.), Ajitasena seems to have been also the 'guru' of Jinadevana, the son of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.

(6) Nemicandra himself says in his 'Gommaṭasāra' that Ajitasena was the 'guru' of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (Jīvakāṇḍa, 733 and Karma-kāṇḍa, 966).

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1 This place is in the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency. It seems to have been a very sacred centre of the Digambara Jainas, especially of the 'Sena' section, for it was there that the great Jinasena and his disciple Guṇabhadra lived and wrote their 'Ādipurāṇa' and 'Uttarapurāṇa'. There seems to have been a large number of Jaina temples at Baṅkāpura, some of which 'Hulla', the great general of king Narasiṃha I of the 'Hoysala' dynasty, had repaired or renovated (Śrāvṇa Belgolā Inscription, no. 345 of 1159 A.C.).

2 Inscription, no. 59 (974 A.C.) at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā.

3 The colophon to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's Sanskrit work, the 'Cāritra-sāra' (p. 103), also mentions Ajitasena as his 'guru'.

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(7). The 'Paṭṭāvali' of the 'sena' section of the Digambara Jainas describes Ajitasena as the 'guru' of Camuṇḍa Rāya (Jainasiddhānta-bhāskara, Prathamakiraṇa, p. 38).[1]

All these facts, as also the tradition, found in the various works written on the colossus and its installation afford at least enough of circumstantial evidences in support of the conclusion that it was Ajitasena, and not Nemicandra, who officiated for Cāmuṇḍa Rāya at the installation of the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus ; whence it is obvious that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could have become acquainted with Nemicandra only after the installation, or at most at the time of it ; for it is reasonable to believe that, that unusually grand and imposing religious ceremony must have attracted a very large concourse of people, both lay men and Jaina clergy, and Nemicandra also might have taken some part in the service (of course, as subordinate to Ajitasena).

Only three inscriptions of Śrāvaṇa Belgolā (nos. 59, 67 and 121) mention Ajitasena, and none of them says anything of his stay at the place. He therefore seems not to have made any permanent or even a sufficiently prolonged stay at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā, but must have gone back to Bañkāpura soon after the ceremony at Śrāvaṇa Belgola was over, and continued to remain at Bañkāpura till the end of his life. When therefore Ajitasena had returned to Bañkāpura, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, who, in the meantime, had become acquainted with Nemicandra, must have accepted the latter as his second 'guru' ; and king Rācamalla

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1 There are palpable discrepancies in this passage. For Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was not the king of southern Telugu country and Karnataka, but was the minister and general of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty, who ruled in the southern Karnataka ; and the rank assigned to Ajitasena, placing him eight places above Guṇabhadra is untenable because of the fact that Ajitasena having been a contemporary of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.C., whereas Guṇabhadra lived at the end of the 9th cent. as is evidenced from the verse in his 'Uttarapurāṇa'. Therefore Ajitasena who was the preceptor of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya and the installer of the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus could never have preceded Guṇabhadra, and thus the order of succession as given in this 'Paṭṭāvali' is anything but correct. This, however, cannot effect the fact of the installation of the colossus by Ajitasena on behalf of Cāmuṇḍa. It is interesting to note that in this 'Paṭṭāvali' it is clearly said that the image of 'Bahubali' is called 'Gommaṭṭa' and not 'Bāhubali'.

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too must have accepted Nemicandra as his 'guru' at this time. If therefore my date 981 A.C. for the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā installation is correct, Nemicandra became the 'guru' of both Rācamalla and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya between 981 A.C. and 984 A.C.:(for, king Rācamalla died in 984 A.C.), in which interval he must have composed his 'Trilokasāra,' in the opening verse of which he alludes to both of these disciples of his. As, however, there is no mention in the 'Trilokasāra' of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's other name 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya'), Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could not have obtained that name till 984 A.C.; and as Nemicandra's later work the 'Gommaṭasāra', which contains the earliest mention of Gommaṭa (or Gommaṭa Rāya), does not mention king Rācamalla, it is clear that 'Gommaṭasāra' must have been composed after the king's death i. e., after 984 A.C. These facts are convincing enough for the conclusion that it was Nemicandra himself who first gave the name 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya') to his disciple Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya got this new name at least three (if not more[1]) years after he had installed the colossus, and that he had done it not before the composition of the 'Gommaṭasāra' by Nemicandra. Let us now see why Nemicandra gave that new name to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.

(1) The word 'Gommaṭa' is also found in Kanarese as an adjective, meaning 'pleasing, beautiful',[2] wherefore some hold that Nemicandra may have called Cāmuṇḍa Rāya 'Gommaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa Rāya', meaning 'a beautiful person,' 'of a pleasing appearance' or 'the Rāya of a pleasing appearance'. But it is not probable that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could be below 50 (if not 60) years of age at the time of the installation (981 A.C.), as his exploits he has himself recounted in his 'Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa' (978 A.C.) sufficiently bear out the fact that he must have been already on the wrong side of fifty when he finished it; if so, it is quite unusual that anyone that has left the youth pretty far behind him, and has consecreted the evening of his life to religion and solemn deeds of religion would be addressed as

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1 If Ranna's non-mention of this name be taken as a negative evidence, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could not have that name before 993 A.C., or in other words, the 'Gommaṭasāra' could not have been composed before 993 A.C.

2 Vide Śrāvaṇa Belgolā inscriptions—(1) no. 234 (circa, 1113 A.C.). 'The general Hulla caused this excellent temple of Jina to be built, so that the people said it was beautiful as an ornament to Gommaṭapura' ('beautiful' = 'gommaṭa').

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beautiful. Moreover, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was a man of arms, a great hero, every moment of whose life (till he took exclusively to religion) was occupied with some heroic action, and every inch of whose body must, consequently, have been blurred by the scars, commemorative of his victorious exploits ; nor was he less devoted to his religion : he was a man of extraordinary piety, as is undeniably evidenced by his several works in letters and stone ; wherefore the term 'beautiful' or 'pleasing', which would very well suit a young gallant, would surely be quite out of place when applied to him, nor would the scholarly and saintly Nemicandra ever stoop to give him such a name, as could not but savour of sensuality, be it innocent enough to mean but 'pleasing to the eye' or 'beautiful to look at.' If, on the other hand, the word Gommaṭa, be interpreted to mean 'of a pleasing nature', its application to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya would not be inappropriate ; but the derivation of the word, as will be discussed below, does not seem to warrant any sense other than sensual, and it can therefore only mean 'pleasing to the eye'. Besides, why should Nemicandra give one more name or title to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, who already had other names (such as 'Rāya', 'Anna' etc.), and not a few titles, unless the new one had its *reison d'être* in history, religion or tradition ?

(2) Sj. A. Santiraja Sastri, Nyāyatīrtha, says In his letter of the 14th August 1926 to me ; that, as the name Cāmuṇḍa is associated with the fierce goddess Kālī and is consequently repulsive to the feelings of the Jainas, Nemicandra might have changed it to 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya').[1] But I beg to differ. For the Digambara Jainas need not be told, that[2] 'Cāmuṇḍī' is the name of the 'Yakṣinī'[3] (i.e., the female attendent spirit) of the 21st Tīrthaṅkara, Śrī Neminātha. Without doubt, therefore, after the said 'Yakṣiṇī' was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya so named, and not after the 'fierce Kālī'. Cāmuṇḍa Rāya built a temple called 'Cāmuṇḍa Rāya Basadi' after him on the smaller hill, 'Candragiri' at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā, where he installed an image of the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, Śrī Neminātha, in the door-way of which shrine he installed an image of 'Kūṣmāṇḍinī' also, the 'Yakṣiṇī' of the said Tīrthaṅkara. This name 'Kuṣmāṇḍinī' is no less dismal ; yet Cāmuṇḍa Rāya placed her image within the shrine of this favourite Tīrthaṅkara, and Nemicandra

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1 I publish his opinion with his express approval.

2 But according to the Śvetāmbaras, she is called 'Gāndhārī.'

3 Cf. Hemacandra, 'Abhidhānacintāmaṇi', verses 44-46.

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too did not discountenance his disciple's action. So the association of the name 'Cāmuṇḍa' with the 'fierce Kālī,' could not be the reason of Nemicandra's changing the name to 'Gommaṭa.'[1]

(3) Some, though few, hold that the name 'Gomaṭa' applies to Bāhubalī himself. He is said to have travelled far and wide, between his renunciation and attainment of perfection. According to them 'Gommaṭa' is 'one who rambles over the earth' (*gām aṭatīti gomataḥ*). But it is needless to say that, the compound and its analysis are hopelessly muddled, for whence could the augment '*m*' which is so prominent in the word 'Go*m*aṭa' come then ?

Now before presenting my own theory regarding the origin of the name 'Gommaṭa', let me explain how and why Cāmuṇḍa Rāya could never be the first recipient of that name and it was the colossus itself which first came to be known by that name.

(1) Inscriptions nos. 242 (1175 A. C.), 333 (1206 A. C.), 345 (1159 A.C.), 349 (1159 A.C.) and 397 (1129 A.C.) call Śrāvaṇa Belgolā by the name of 'Gommaṭapura', i.e., the city of Gommaṭa. The name clearly shows that it means the city of God Gommaṭa, i.e., the colossus of Bāhubalī, and has had nothing to do with Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.

(2) Verse 968 of Nemicandra's 'Gommaṭasāra' has "the Jina called Gommaṭa standing on the Gommaṭa peak". Would it not be far more likely and reasonable to believe that the peak at Srāvaṇa Belgolā, on which the colossus stands, must have been so called after the name 'Gommaṭa' of the colossus rather than after that of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya ? This colossus stands on the larger hill, 'Vindhyagiri' or 'Indragiri'. If the larger hill could have been called 'Gommaṭa' peak on account of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's name being 'Gommaṭa', why could not the smaller hill 'Candragiri' too be called by the same or some similar name, as it also contains a temple built by him ? Would it not be reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the colossus itself came to be called 'Gommaṭa' earlier ? A similar case is Kārkala (in South Kanara district). The rocky hillock there, on which another Gommaṭa colossus stands, is also called 'Gommaṭa betta', i.e., the hill of Gommaṭa, after the name 'Gommaṭa' of the colossus itself, and not after the king Vīra Pāṇḍya or 'Pāṇḍya Rāja' who installed it.

(3) Nemicandra has not called Cāmuṇḍa Rāya by the name of Gommaṭa in the 'Trilokasāra', composed between 981 A.C. and 984 A.C.,

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1 It is to be noted that most of the female attendant spirits of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras bear the names of the Hindu goddess Durgā.

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but only in his later work, the 'Gommaṭasāra. This shows that the colossus must have acquired the name, 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭeśvara') in the interval, it perhaps being given by the crowds of pilgrims pouring in, year after year.

(4) The two other colossi, raised to Bāhubalī, the one at Kārkala and the other at Venur (both in South Kanara district), are also called by the name, 'Gummaṭa', in their respective inscriptions. The inscription at the left side of the Kārkala colossus (1432 A.C.) has this—'Let it grant you every wish—the beautiful and holy image of the Lord Jina, named Gummaṭa, which was caused to be made with great delight by the glorious king Pāṇḍya Rāja, the son of Bhairavendra, who was praised by the wise'.

The left side of the Veṇur colossus (1603 A.C.) reads thus—'Timma, the chief among kings, who was ruling over the kingdom of Punjalike, consecrated the image of the blessed Jina, called Gummaṭeśa, the son of Ādi Jina (i.e., the first Tīrthaṅkara, Śrī Ṛṣabhanātha)'.

The fact, that the installers of the Kārkala and Veṇur colossi have preferred to preserve the old name 'Gummaṭa' intact, proves that the said name 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gummaṭa) of the original colossus at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā could never have been derived from that of its installer.

These reasons constrain me to discountenance the theory or the wide-spread belief that it was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya himself, who was the original possessor of the name or the title 'Gommaṭa', and it was from him that the name was transferred and applied second-hand to the colossus by reason of its being installed by him. I therefore conclude that it was the Śrāvaṇa Belgolā colossus itself that first came to be popularly called and widely known as 'Gommaṭa,' by virtue of the fact that it was the image of Bāhubalī, who again, in the fitness of things, was called 'Gommaṭa', and that Nemicandra gave this new name 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya') to his disciple Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, for his having installed it. Now what does 'Gommaṭa' mean ?

In the 'Prākṛtamañjarī' of Kātyāyana, the rule governing the change that the double sound 'nm' undergoes is laid down as 'nmo maḥ' (III, 42),[1] wherefore the Sanskrit word 'Manmaṭha', meaning 'cupid', becomes 'Gammaha' in Prakrit.

(1) The sounds of the dental class, when final in a Sanskrit word, change into cerebrals in Kanarese[2]—e.g., S. Granthi (a knot)=K. 'Gaṇṭi' (or Gaṇṭu); S. Śraddhā (confidence, trust, faith)=K.

1 Nirṇayasāgara Press edition, p. 41. 2 See below.

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Saḍḍe ; S. tāna (in music)=K. ṭāṇa ; S. pattana (a city)=K. paṭṭaṇa ; S. 'patha' (path)=K. 'baṭṭe' etc. ; therefore the final 'th' of the word 'Manmatha' would not retain in Kanarese the final 'h' sound it has in the Prakrit (Gammaha), but would naturally change into a 'ṭ', and thus the S. 'Manmatha'=Pkt. 'Gammaha' would become, in its Kanarese 'Tadbhava' form, 'Gammaṭa'.

(2) In Kanarese words, the initial 'a' sound alternates with the short 'o' (as in the English word 'not') sound—e.g., (1) magu (a child) =mogu ; mammaga (grandson)=mommaga ; magacu (to subvert)= mogacu ; tappalu (valley) = toppalu ; daddi (cowshed) = doddi ; sappu (dry leaves) = soppu ; maḷa (a cubit)=moḷa etc. Therefore it is an easy and inevitable passage from Gammaṭa to Gommaṭa.[1]

(3) It is to be noted that the short 'e' sound (as in the English words 'net', 'red' etc.) as well as the short 'o' sound (as in the English words 'not', 'rod', 'sob' etc.) is conspicuous by their absence in Sanskrit, and though the said sounds are found in the Prakrit, it has no separate letters to denote the same. Now in the word Gommaṭa, the initial sound is that of the short 'o' and though the same is metrically lengthened by the following double consonant, it never changes into the sound of the long 'o'. So it is but natural, that, when this word has had to be employed in Sanskrit, its initial short 'o' sound would be lengthened into that of a long 'o', to suit the phonetic exigencies of Sanskrit, and thus 'Gommaṭa' would become 'Gomaṭa' : this explains why in Prakrit we find the form 'Gommaṭa' employed in preference, and in Sanskrit the form 'Gomaṭa'

(4) It has already been said above that the Sanskrit word 'patha' (path) becomes 'baṭṭe' in its Kanrese 'Tadbhava' form. It will be seen that the final dental aspirate 'th' of the Sanskrit word changes into a double unaspirated tenuis of the cerebral class ; similarly 'Manmatha' would become 'Gommaṭṭa' (with an initial short 'o') or 'Gomaṭṭa' (with an initial long 'o').

(5) As regards the form Gummaṭa, however, it is only a variant of Gommaṭa, the initial short 'o' sound of Gommaṭa having been changed into or displaced by the short 'u' sound. Examples of the interchangeability of these two allied vowel sounds are not incommon in Kanarese—as in koḍu (to give)=kuḍu ; 'toḍu' (to put on) = 'tuḍu' ; mogge (a bud) = mugge ; more (to hum, to buzz)=mure ; moradu (roughness, unevenness)=muraḍu ; bogari (a

1 The form Gammaṭa is nowhere to be found.

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spinning top) = bugari etc. Gommaṭa, Gummaṭa are therefore merely variants and interchangeable forms.

So it is quite clear on phonological grounds that Gommaṭa (short 'o'), Gomaṭa (long 'o'), Gommaṭṭa (short 'o'), Gomaṭṭa (long 'o') and Gummaṭa (short 'u') are all merely the 'Tadbhava' forms of the Sanskrit word Manmatha, meaning Cupid or Kāmadeva.

Now, how could the colossus of Bāhubalī come to be called by the name Manmatha or Kāmadeva ? Was ever Bāhubalī known as Kāmadeva or Manmatha ? Had he any such name ?

(1) Yes. In all the works, whether in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Kanarese, Bāhubalī, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara by his second wife, has been called the Kāmadeva (Cupid) of his age, or the incarnation of Kāmadeva, or even simply as Kāmadeva, e.g., 'Ādipurāṇa' (circa 850 A.C.) of Jinasenācārya, xvi, 9 ; xvi, 25.

(2) Kanarese poet Pampa in his 'Ādipurāṇa' (941 A.C.) states : 'Bāhubalī was the cupid of his age and therefore was called by all the names which Cupid has' (viii, 52-53).

(3) Kanarese prose-work of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya himself (978 A.C.) says : 'To Sunandā Devī was born a son called 'Bāhubalī', who was the Cupid of that age.'

In addition, all these works point out that Bāhubalī was taught the science of erotics by his father, the first Tīrthaṅkara (Jinasena's 'Ādipurāṇa', xvii, 123 ; Pampa's 'Ādipurāṇa', vii, 60).

(4) Inscription no. 234 (circa 1180 A.C.) at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā has : 'Is he of unequalled beauty ? Yes, he is Cupid (Smara) himself. May he (Bāhubalī) who is the very Cupid (Anaṅga) bestow on us auspicious good fortune' (lines 28-29). 'As Cupid he (Bāhubalī) had formerly (i.e., before his renunciation) taken upon himself the glory of the empire of love'.

To sum up. In accordance with the facts recorded above, and the conclusions thence deduced, I hold that, as Bāhubalī himself was well known as Manmatha (Cupid), the colossus raised to him at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā naturally came in an early period to be called as Gommaṭa (or Gommaṭeśvara) which is but a 'Tadbhava' form of the original name Manmatha. Thereafter, Nemicandra, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great and pious act of its installation by his disciple Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, adopted for him the new name 'Gommaṭa' (or 'Gommaṭa Rāya'), i.e., the 'Rāya' who had installed the 'Gommaṭa and addressed him as such and recorded it in his 'Gommaṭa-sara' which he had expressly written for the said Cāmuṇḍa Rāya,

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and which he called 'Gommaṭasāra', in order to preserve for posterity the new name he had conferred on his disciple. For, the title 'Gommaṭasāra' of the said work means 'the quintessence (of the philosophy of Jainism, of course) made for (or offered to) Gommaṭa (i.e., Cāmuṇḍa Rāya)' in which new title (of the said work), its real and subjective title Pañcasaṃgraha (i.e., 'a compendium of five things') has been utterly lost.

POST SCRIPT

Though it has been said above that the Sanskrit word Manmatha was transformed into the Kanarese 'Tadbhava' form 'Gommaṭa', it seems far more probable that the Kanarese borrowed it from the Marathi language rather than directly from Sanskrit. There was (and there still is) a very large commerce of words between Marathi and Kanarese (for the provinces in which these languages are spoken are contiguous at several points), especially in those far-off times, as is amply evidenced by a pretty large number of words native to any one of these languages also found in current use in the other. Marathi, it need hardly be said, is derived from the ancient Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and is thus an Aryan language, while the Dravidian Kanarese is not ; and the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, as is well-known, was much in vogue among the Śvetāmbara Jainas. Now side by side with Marathi there was (and still is) another Prakritic language derived from the Māgadhī (or Ardha Māgadhī) Prakrit, which being the vernacular of the Konkan, is known as Konkanī. This Konkanī (possessing no literature of its own and sunk into insignificance now) was once in a flourishing condition. It is far older than Marathi which it has enriched with not a few of its own words and grammatical forms. Now the word 'Gomaṭa' or 'Gommaṭa' which is still found in Konkanī as 'Gomaṭo' and 'Gommaṭo' (masculine nom. sing.) is not found in Marathi, except in that of the Konkan and not outside of it as Gomaṭā (masc. nom. sing.). This word is therefore clearly native to Konkanī, and to no other Prakritic language.

(1) Skt. manthana (churning) = Kon. 'gānṭaṇa' : here we find the initial 'm' of the Sanskrit word changing into 'g' in Konkani.

(2) Sanskrit 'patha' (path) = Konkani 'vāṭa'; Sanskrit granthi (knot) = Kon. 'gāṇṭi' : here we find that the final 'th' of the Sanskrit word changes into 'ṭ' in Konkanī. As another instance of this change may be cited the name 'Mammata' of the great rhetorician (author of Kāvyaprakāśa) which is also a 'Tadbhava' of the Sanskrit Manmatha.

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(3) The change of the initial 'a' sound of Sanskrit words into an 'o' (rather a short 'o' than a long one) sound in Konkanī is very common in the latter language—e.g., Sanskrit 'panasa' (jack fruit) = Kon. poṇasa ; Sanskrit 'bakula' (a flower) = Kon. 'vovla' ; Skt. 'madhu' (honey) = Kon. 'mō-u' ; Skt. Navati (ninety) = Kon. 'nōvi' ; Skt. rasa (juice) = Kon. 'rosu' ; Skt. kaṭu (bitter) = Kon. 'kōḍu' etc.

All these changes will suffice to prove that the Sanskrit word Manmatha becomes Gommaṭa in Konkani.

Another reason why I hold that the form Gommaṭa is native to Konkani and was thence borrowed into Kanarese *via* Marathi in all probability, is that we find such a peculiar word as 'Gova' (masc. nom. sing. 'govu' = husband, master, lord), which is purely and undoubtedly native to the Konkani language, to be in use in Kanarese[1] from perhaps a very early period. Possibly this word 'gova' also filtered down into Kanarese through Marathi medium. Though at present it is conspicuous by its absence in Marathi itself, it is in very good form and daily use in Konkanī. This word 'gova'[2] comes from the Sanskrit word 'Grahitā' (base 'Grahitṛ') which is the shortened form of 'pari-grahitā' (base, 'pari-grahitṛ', husband), just as the other Konkani word 'duva' comes from the Sanskrit 'duhitā' (base, 'duhitṛ', daughter).

I have explained why and how the Sanskrit word Manmatha became transformed into Gommaṭa. But this in no way affects what has already been said in the body of the article in explanation of the formation of the other variants of the word.

GOVIND PAI

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1 I give only 2 examples which come to my mind just now : (1160 A.C.) 'King Ereyaṃga (of the Hoysala dynasty) who is the lord of heroes' ('Epigraphia Carnatica', vol. v, no. 193) ; (1286 A.C.) 'This King Narasiṃha (of the Hoysala dynasty) who is the lord of heroes' ('Epigraphia Carnatica', vol. xii, no. 123). In both the word 'Gova' occurs.

2 Both these Konkanī words 'gova' and 'duva' are also found as 'ghova' and 'dhuva' respectively, with aspirate initials ; and this is due to the presence of the 'h' sound in the original Sanskrit words which in its elision influences the sound of the consonants it follows.

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Sandhabhasa

It is not less than ten years that some writers in Bengal have begun to use quite a new word, *sandhyā-bhāṣā*, or 'twilight language,' as it is translated by them into English. It was, however, first introduced by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri (=HPS) in the introduction to his *Bauddha Gāna O Dôhā*[1]. This volume contains four Buddhist works, viz. (1) *Caryācaryaviniścaya* (an anthology in the oldest Bengali), (2) *Dohākośa* of Sarojavajra, (3) *Dohākośa* of Kṛṣṇācārya or Kāṇhapāda, and (4) *Dākārṇava*, each of the first three being accompanied with a commentary in Sanskrit. They are all edited by him.

In the commentaries on the *Caryācaryaviniścaya* and Sarojavajra's *Dohākośa* we come across the following words :

(1) *sandhyā*, pp. 6, 11, 29, 32 ;

(2) *sandhyā-bhāṣā*, pp. 5, 13, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 30, 51, 83, 93 ;[2]

(3) *sandhyā-vacana*, p. 37 ; and

(4) *sandhyā-saṅketa*, p. 9.

These are used as synonymous and with reference to them HPS writes in Bengali in the introduction (p. 8) referred to above : "All the works of the Sahajayāna are written in the *Sandhyā-bhāṣā*. *Sandhyā-bhāṣā* is a *bhāṣā* (language) of light and darkness ("ālo-ā'dhārī"), partly light, partly darkness; some parts can be understood while others cannot. In other words, in these discourses on *dharma* which are of a high order there are references also to different things. This is not to be openly explained." Let us see how far this view can be accepted.

Mr. Panchkawri Banerjee does not subscribe to it and offers his new interpretation saying that *Sandhyā-bhāṣā* is the *bhāṣā* or language of the country known by the name of *Sandhyā*, i.e., the border land between the old Āryāvarta and Bengal proper[3]. This is, in my

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1 *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya-Pariṣat Series*, No. 55, Calcutta, 1323 B.S. = 1916 A. D.

2 Once the reading is °*bhāsā*.

3 "Pandit Haraprasad Shastri came to the conclusion that the language used by the Siddhācāryas was called *Sandhyā* because it

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opinion, mere imagination, there being absolutely nothing to support it.

The following words which occur in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Bib. Budh., 1912) deserve to be noted in order to find out if there is any connection between these two sets of expressions :

(1) *sandhā-bhāṣita*, pp. 125, 199, 233 ;
(2) *sandhā-bhāṣya*, pp. 29, 34, 60, 70, 273 ; and
(3) *sandhā-vacana*, p. 59.

In fact, these are synonyms. But what is the sense in which they are used ?

Burnouf in his French translation of the work, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi* (Paris, 1852, p. 342) has, perhaps for the first time, discussed the word used there (p. 29) in the following sentence : "durvijñeyaṃ śāriputra *sandhā-bhāṣyaṃ* tathāgatānām."—'O Śāriputra, the *sandhā-bhāṣya* of the Tathāgatas is very difficult.' His conclusion is that the word means 'enigmatical talk' ("le language énigmatique"), as supported by the Tibetan version reading *ldem por dgoṅs te bśad pa ni* which, according to him, means 'explanation of the thought expressed enigmatically' ("le'xplication de la pensée exprimée énîgmatiquement").

Kern in his English translation of the work (SBE, vol. XXI) has translated the term throughout by 'mystery' (see p. 59, note 3). Max Müller takes the term to mean 'hidden saying' on Chinese authority (SBE, vol. XLIX, p. 118 ; *Vajracchedikā*, p. 23, note 5). Let us, however, discuss the point once again.

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was a kind of twilight language which sought to give a mere glimpse of the high truths of Buddhism, not in their pure original form, but in such modified shape as could be understood by the common people leaving deliberately vague what was not deemed safe or useful for them to worry about. With this conclusion I cannot agree.

The tract to the S.E. of Bhagalpur comprising the western portion of Birbhum and Santhal Perganas is the borderland between the old Āryāvarta (the Indian domicile of the Aryans) and Bengal proper, and was called *Sandhyā* country. Any one, who is familiar with the several dialects all closely resembling one another spoken in that region, cannot have any doubt as to their near relationship to the language used by the Siddhācāryas." *Visvabharati Quarterly*, 1924, p. 265.

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That *sandhā* of *sandhā-bhāṣya*, *sandhā-bhāṣita*, etc. is in reality a shortened form of *sandhāya*, a gerund from *sam* + √*dhā* is beyond doubt. This is suggested even from the simple fact that on p. 70 of the printed text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* two of the MSS. used by Kern, K and W, actually read *sandhāya* for *sandhā* in the word *sandhā-bhāṣya*.[1] Though the former cannot claim to be the actual reading on the metrical ground, we cannot discard it altogether, for it clearly indicates the sense of the word in which it was taken by the scribes of the two MSS. referred to above. That the original form of *sandhā* cannot be other than *sandhāya* is shown below. But in that case the only question that presents itself is with regard to the dropping of *ya* of *sanahāya*. This is, however, easily solved. See the following Pāli forms: *aññā* < *aññāya* (Skt. *ājñāya*), *Dhammapada*, 56; *abhiññā* < *abhiññāya* (Skt. *abhijñāya*), *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pp. 173, 313; *upādā* < *upādāya*, *Dhammasaṃgaṇi*, §§877, 960. See Geiger: *Pāli Literature und Sprache*, 1916, §27·2 (*āya* = *ā*).

The import of *sandhāya* may be expressed in Sanskrit by the words such as *abhisandhāya*, *abhipretya*, *uddiśya*, etc. which can be translated into English by 'meaning,' 'aiming at,' 'having in view,' 'intending,' 'with regard to,' etc. In support of this the following passages, both Sanskrit and Pāli, may be quoted here:

(1) punar api mahāmatir āha / yad idaṃ uktaṃ bhagavatā yāṃ ca rātriṃ tathāgato' bhisambuddho yāṃ ca rātrim parinirvāsyati atrāntara ekam apy akṣaraṃ tathāgatena nodāhṛtaṃ na pratyāhariṣyti/ avacanaṃ buddhavacanam iti/ tat kim idam[2] *sandhāyoktaṃ* tathāgatenārhatā samyaksambuddhenāvacanam buddhavacanam iti / bhagavān āha / dharmadvayaṃ mahāmate *sandhāya* mayedam *uktam* / katamad dharmadvayaṃ yad uta pratyātmadharmatāṃ ca *sandhāya* paurāṇasthitidharmatāṃ ca / idaṃ mahāmate dharmadvayaṃ *sandhāya* mayedam *uktam*.—*Laṅkāvatāra*, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923, p. 143.

'Mahāmati asked again: "It is said by the Blessed One that between two nights, one on which the Tathāgata attained to perfect enlightenment and the other on which he would attain complete nirvāṇa, he did not utter even a single syllable; nor would he utter it. The utterance of the Buddha is non-utternance. *Meaning* what has the perfectly enlightened, venerable, Tathāgata *said* that

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1 Sandhā-bhāṣyeṇa bhāṣanto buddhabodhim anuttamām.

2 In the *Vajracchedikā*, p. 23, note 5, read *idaṃ* with the MS J, and not *iyaṃ* as suggested by Max Müller.

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the utterance of the Buddha is non-utterance?" Replied the Blessed One: "Meaning two dharmas, O Mahāmati, I said it. And what are these two dharmas? They are *pratyātmadharmatā* and *paurāṇa-sthitidharmatā*. These are two dharmas, O Mahāmati, *meaning* which I have *said* it.'

(2) caturvidhāṃ samatāṃ *sandhāya* mahāmate tathāgatā° *vācaṃ niścārayanti*° / katamāṃ caturvidhām samatāṃ *sandhāya*° / imaṃ mahāmate caturvidhāṃ samatāṃ *sandhāya* tathāgatā° *vācaṃ niścārayanti* / *Op. cit.*, p. 141:

'*Meaning* four-fold equality, O Mahāmati, the Tathāgatas° *utter* their words.° *Meaning* what four-fold equality°? *Meaning* this four-fold equality, O Mahāmati, the Tathāgatas° *utter* their *words*.'

(3) anutpattiṃ *sandhāya* mahāmate sarvadharmā niḥsvabhāvāḥ / *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

'It is *meaning* their non-origination, O Mahāmati, that all the things are (*said*) to be without their nature.'

(4) Yāḥ *sandhāyā*ham evaṃ *vadāmi*.—*Daśabhūmākaśāstra*, ed. T. Radher, p. 5.

'*Intending* these (Bodhisattvabhūmis) I say so.'

(5) Idaṃ nu te etaṃ māgandiya *sandhāya bhāsitaṃ* bhūnahu samaṇo gotamo.—*Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 503.

'*Intending* this, O Māgandiya, it is *said* to you that the recluse Gotama is destroyer of beings.'

(6) yaṃ *sandhāya vuttam*.—*Jātaka*, 1, 203.

'*Meaning* which (the following) is *said*.'

(7) Idaṃ kira bodhisatto attano abbhantare ñanāvudhaṃ *sandhāya kathesi*.—*Op. cit.*, p. 274.

'This was *said* by the Bodhisattva *meaning* the weapon of knowledge which was within him.'[1]

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1 The following may also be referred to: *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 163:

(i) r a j o d h ā t u o'ti rajaokkiṇṇṭṭhānāni hatthapīṭhapādapīṭhādīni *sandhāya vadati*.

(ii) s a t t a s a ñ ñ i g a b b h ā' ti oṭṭhagoṇagadrabhaajapasumigamahise *sandhāya vadati*.

(iii) a s a ñ ñ i g a b b h ā' ti sāliyavagodhūmamuggakaṅguvarakakudrusake *sandhāya vadati*.

(iv) n i g g a ṇ ṭ h i g a b b h ā' ti veḷunalādayo *sandhāya vadati*. (See also pp. 161, 165. *Kathāvatthupakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā*, *JPTS*, 1889), p. 3: aññaṃ *sandhāya bhaṇitaṃ*.

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From the above uses it is perfectly clear that so far as the sense is concerned, the word *sandhāya* of the Buddhists is nothing but *abhisandhāya* found in Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist works as the following passages will bear out:

(1) *abhisandhāya* tu phalaṃ. *Bhagavadgītā*, XVII, 12.
'Having in view[1] the consequence'.

(2) *abhisandhāya* yo hiṃsāṃ. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, III, 29, 8[2].
'Who *having in view* injury.'

(3) viṣayān *abhisandhāya*. Op. cit., III, 29, 9.
'*Having in view* the object of senses.'

(4) lābham *abhisandhāya*. *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 214.
'*Having in view* gain.'

(5) īśvaram eva *abhisandhāya*. Op. cit., p. 554.
'Just *with reference* to God.'

With regard to this significance of *sandhāya* we have support also from the Tibetan sources. The following line is quoted from the *Laṅkāvatāra* in the *Madhyamakavṛtti* (p. 555) by Candrakīrtti:

svabhāvānutpattiṃ *sandhāya* mahāmate sarvadharmāḥ śūnyā iti deśitāḥ.

'*Intending* the natural non-origination, O Mahāmati, it is taught by me that all things are void.'

Here *sandhāya* is translated into Tibetan by *dgoṅs nas* which simply means 'having in view' (*abhipretya, abhisandhāya, uddiśya*).

We have already seen, as Burnouf has quoted, that the Tibetan expression for *sandhā-bhāṣya* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 29) is *ldem por dgoṅs te bśad pa ni*. Here *ldem por dgoṅs* means nothing but *abhisandhi* (or *abhiprāya*) though each of these two expressions, *ldem po* and *dgoṅs* or *dgoṅs pa* has the same sense. For example, *gzug pa la ldem por dgoṅs pa=avatāraṇābhisandhi*; *mtshan ñid la ldem por dgoṅs pa=lakṣaṇābhisandhi*; and so on. With *te* added to it *ldem por dgoṅs* means here only *sandhāya=abhisandhāya*. And *bśad pa* means *bhāṣita, bhāṣaṇa*, etc. 'speech,' 'talk,' 'explanation,' etc.

The same (*ldem por dgoṅs tebśad* or *gsuṅs* sometimes omitting *te*)

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1 The commentators, Śaṅkara, Nīlakaṇṭha, Dhanapati, Śrīdhara, Abhinavagupta and Madhusūdana explain the word *abhisandhāya* by *uddiśya*.

See also *Gopīcandana Upaniṣad*, 5: vedartham *abhisandhāya*.

2 Śrīdhara here says that *abhisandhāya* means *saṅkalpya*.

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or similar (*ldem por ñag*) Tibetan expression in the sense of *sandhā-* is found in other cases in the *Sadharmapuṇḍarīka* (see pp. 60, 199, 233, 59).

Now, the Sanskrit and Pāli passages quoted above will show us that *sandhāya* is used with a verb, express or understood, meaning 'to say' (√vad, √kath, √diś etc.). We further see that in some of these passages *sandhāya* is employed with past participles,e.g., *sandhāya deśitam*, *sandhāya bhāṣitaṃ*, *sandhāya vuttaṃ*. In such cases these pairs of words are not compounded, but gradually with the change of the meaning of the second member they began to be compounded; in other words, the past participles lost their own sense, and assumed that of a verbal noun. Thus *bhāṣita* did not then mean 'said,' but 'saying,' 'utterance,' *bhāṣā*, *bhāṣya*, *bhāṣaṇa*; similarly *ukta*, Pāli *vutta*, began to be used in the sense of *vacana* 'speaking,' 'speech,' 'utterance'. Thus the word *sandhā-bhāṣita* with its other synonyms already alluded to came into being.

We have also the use of *ābhiprāyika vaccana* (or *vacas*) in that very sense. For example, we read in Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā* (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*), ed. Lévi, Paris, 1925, p. 5, Kārikā 8:

rūpādyāyatanāstitvaṃ tad vineyajanaṃ prati /
abhiprāyavaśād uktaṃ upapādukasattvavat //[1]

Here runs the commentary on the word *abhiprāyavaśād* (Tib. *dgoṅs paḥi dbaṅ gis*): cittasantatyanucchedam āyatyām *abhipretya*° (Tib. *dgoṅs nas*) *ābhiprāyikaṃ* tad *vacanam* (Tib. *bkaḥ de ni dgoṅs pa can no*). 'Having in view the non-annihilation of the continuity of citta in the future, the *speech* is *intentional*.

The following line from the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (GOS, 1926, p. 868, śl. 3, 331) may also be cited here:

ābhiprāyikam eteṣāṃ syadvādādi vaco yadi.[2]

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1 Poussin translates it (*Muséon*, vol. VIII, 1912, p. 74): C'est intentionnellement (*abhisandhi*, *abhiprāyavaśāt*) que Bhagavat a enseigné l'éxistence des *āyatanas* aux hommes que cet [enseignement] doit convertir;—comme [il a enseigné l'êxistence] des "êtres de naissance surnaturelle" (*aupapāduka sattva*).

2 Here is the Tib. version (Tanjur, Narthang ed., Mdo, He, fol. 133*a* of the Visvabharati Library):

gal te de dag ḥgyur smra sogs/
tshig ni dgos paḥi don yin na/

Literally it reads *prayojanārthaka* for *ābhiprāyika*. We should,

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'If their utterance such as s y ā d v ā d a, etc. is intentional.'

It is thus perfectly clear that *sandhā-bhāṣita* or *bhāṣya* is nothing but *ābhiprāyika vacana* which can be translated by 'intentional speech.'

We can gather also from the Chinese sources[1] that in reality *sandhā-bhāṣya* is *ābhiprāyika vacana* ('intentional speech'). In Chinese there are three translations of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, first by Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣa (286 A.C.), second by Kumārajīva (406 A.C.), and the third by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta (601 A.C.); besides other two translations which do not contain the passage bearing on *sandhā-bhāṣya*. It is found in these translations that only on two occasions (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, p. 34 = Kumārajīva's tr., Tokio ed. xi. 1. 11*a*. 15-16; and *Sadharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 233 = Kumārajīva's tr., xi. 30*b*. 2-3) the word (*sandhā-bhāṣya* or *bhāṣita*) is translated, in the first case by *wei* and in the second by *yu*. In other passages it has either been omitted or translated by an expression, *sui i*. Now, both *wei* and *yu* mean 'subtle,' 'obscure,' 'secret,' 'hidden'; and this is, I think, just the opposite of *nītārtha* which is explained in the *Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā*, as we shall presently see, by *vibhaktārtha* 'of clear sense'. In other words, these two Chinese words may be explained in such cases by *avibhaktārtha* 'that of which the sense is not clear,' 'subtle,' 'obscure' = *vibhajyārtha*, 'that of which the sense is to be made clear' = *neyārtha* (see below).

With regard to the second exppression *sui i*, as explained by Couvreur, it means 'suitable' ("d'aprés ce qui convient). If we, however, consider how the Sanskirt term under discussion (*sandhā-bhāṣya*) is explained in Tibetan, as has already been shown, it seems to me, we may take the Chinese expression as equivalent of *ābhiprāyika*, 'intentional.' Chinese *sui* means 'to follow' (anu + √gam) and is frequently used for the Sanskrit prefix *anu* (for instance, *sui tso*, *anuvidhāna*; *sui sheng*, *anujāta*). And *i* means (i) 'suitable,' 'proper'; (ii) 'should,' 'ought.' Thus *sui i* may mean

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however, like to read *dgoṅs* for *dgos* in the second line, and in that case *dgoṅs paḥi don* would mean *abhiprāyārthaka* which is in fact the same as *ābhiprāyika*.

1 I am grateful to Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi for the help I have derived from him on this point.

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'*anusaraṇīya* 'that which is to be followed,' and this is, in fact, *abhipreya* (=*gamya*=*ābhiprāyika*, from √i 'to go'), figuratively 'that which is to be intended.'

Now, the beauty of the instruction (*desanāvilāsa*) of the Buddhas, or their skill in showing the means for realization of truth (*upāyakauśalya*) is that their instructions (*deśanā*) differ according to the degrees of fitness of their disciples.[1] Those instructions are mainly of two kinds, (i) one, the object of which is to show the real state of things directly (*tattvārthā*), and (ii) the other, 'intentional' (*ābhiprāyikā*) meaning thereby that it is intended to imply or suggest something different from what is expressed by the words (*yathāruta*).[2] The object of the former is to lead one to the path of nirvāṇa (*mārgāvatāra*), while that of the latter is to lead one to the fruit (or final result) of nirvāṇa (*phalāvatāra*). These two kinds of instruction or discourse or *sūtra* as often styled are also called *nītārtha* and *neyārtha* respectively. By the former is meant the kind of instruction which is clearly expressed, and by the latter the kind which is implied. In other words, the first gives us the literal sense while the second the implied sense.[3]

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1 deśanā lokanāthānāṃ sattvāśayavaśānugāḥ/
bhidyante bahudhā loka upāyair bahubhiḥ kila//
Bodhicittavivaraṇa quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, Ānandāśrama ed., 1906, p. 11.

durbodhyaṃ cāpi taj jñānaṃ sahasā srutva bāliśāḥ/
kāṃksāṃ kuryuḥ sudurmedhāś tato bhraṣṭā bhrameyu te//
yathā viṣayu bhāṣāmi yasya yādṛśakaṃ balaṃ/
anyamanyehi arthehi dṛṣṭiṃ kurvāmi ujjukām//
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 125.

2 See *Madhyamakavṛtti*, pp. 42-43.

3 See the commentary of the *Nettipakaraṇa*, PTS, p. 218: Nitatthanti yathārutavasena ñātabbatthaṃ, Neyyatthanti niddhāretvā gahetabbatthaṃ. The *Manorathapūraṇī* (Siamese ed.) on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I. 10, says: Yassa attho netabho taṃ neyyatthaṃ suttantaṃ, Nītattho.....khathitattho. *Abhidharmakośavyakhyā* quoted by Poussin in the *Madhyamakavṛtti* p. 597: *nītārtha*—*vibhaktārtha* (*Abhid. K. V.* 230*b*)...de sense clair ; tandis que "*neyārthasya sūtrasya nānāmukhaprakṛtārthāvibhāgo'niścitaḥ sandehakaro bhavati.*"

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It follows then from what is said above that the term *sandhā-bhāṣya* with all its variants such as *sandhā-bhāṣita*, etc., is synonymous with *ābhiprāyika vacana* and *neyārtha vacana* or *sūtra*.

Let us now take up the question as to the origin of the words such as *sandhyā-bhāṣā*, *sandhyā-vacana*, etc. reading *sandhyā* for *sandhā* in HPS's *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* already referred to. Burnouf says (*Lotus*, p. 343) in discussing the meaning of *sandhā-bhāṣya* that he too found in his MSS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the reading *sandhyā* for *sandhā*. It is, however, to be noted that in the edition of the Sanskrit text of the work by Kern and Nanjio not less than eight MSS. are used but in none of them is the word *sandhyā* found even in a single instance. There is, in my opinion, sufficient ground for saying that though the materials collected by the editor were not sufficient, the present edition of the *Baudha Gāna O Dohā* is not as critical as it could have been if the materials that were at the disposal of the editor had fully been made use of. I do not, therefore, accept his readings. He says[1] that in the Asiatic Society of Bengal there is a copy (No. 8063) of the palmleaf manuscript on which he based his edition. In that copy there are a number of variant readings. Without comparing that copy with the original palmleaf MS. it cannot be ascertained whether the variants were in the original or made by the scribe of the copy. However, as regards the reading *sandhyā* in the printed text, there is at least one case (p. 29, l. 13) where the copy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (p. 38) does not read *sandhyayā* as edited, but *sandhayā*.[2]

With regard to the second work in which *sandhyā-bhāṣā* occurs, viz. Advayavajra's commentary on the *Dohākośa* of Sarojavajra, the scribe himself tells us that the original from which he made his copy was a very corrupt one, yet with a view to collecting the work he copied it.[3] As there is no other MS of the work at our disposal we can only verify its readings by comparing it with its Tibetan translation. The following is found in the commentary of Sarojavajra's

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1 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, *Buddhist Manuscripts*, 1917, p. 144.

2 The actual writing looks just like संन्धया. That it is not *sandhyayā* is quite clear.

3 astavyastapado bhāti grantho'yaṃ lekhadoṣataḥ /
tathāpi likyate'smhābhir granthasaṃgrahakāṃkṣayā//

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Dohākośa edited by HPS, p. 83: *sandhyābhāṣām ajānānatvā* [*t*] *ca*. And here runs its Tibetan version (*Tanjur*, *Rgyud ḥgrel*, Mi, Narthang edition,[1] fol 194*a*:[2]

dgoṅs pas gsuṅs paḥi ṅo bo mi śes paḥi phyir|

It may be translated into Sanskrit: *sandhābhāṣābhāvājñānāt*, 'on account of not knowing the nature of the intentional speech.'

Again, we read in the same work (p. 93): *sandhyābhāṣām ajānadbhiḥ*. And here is the Tibetan version (fol. 194*a*): *dgoṅs te bstan paḥi skad ma śes pas*. We may literally translate it thus into Sanskrit: *sandhāya upadiṣṭāṃ bhāṣām ajānadbhiḥ* (=*sandhābhāṣām*°).

Thus there is nothing of *sandhyā* 'twilight' in these cases. And it is now not difficult to say how *sandhyā* has crept into the MSS. in place of *sandhā* (=*sandhāya*). It is quite possible that scribes not knowing the true significance of *sandhāya* or its shortened form *sandhā* changed it into *sandhyā* with which they were very fmiliar.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 Visvabharati Library.

2 Cordier, II. p. 214 (42), 199*a*—231*a*, 5.

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The Women of the Meghadūta

In our ancient classical literature the real is too often found lost in the ideal. Much as the modern critic endeavours to pick his way through the vast domain of Sanskrit literature for a peep at the actual conditions of life and thought of the people who produced it, he is confronted with types in the place of individuals, opinions for statement of facts, theories instead of description of practices. The great masters of Indian art aimed at the creation of ideals, which would not be bound by the limitations of particular ages and peoples, but would be true for all time and all climes. There must be a Homeric touch in the commonest of themes, a shadow of the divine over the humblest of heroes. This inevitable idealistic outlook of the greatest Indians of antiquity affects their treatment of even such admittedly secular departments of human inquiry as politics or military science. The astute Kauṭilya sits down to write a political manual for the guidance of his sovereign or his officials; he leaves for his posterity a masterly treatise setting forth his own ideals of an autocratic, socialistic state, which existed nowhere in his time and was never approximated to at any time in India. And what idea do we get as to how the ancient Indian fought his battles or conducted a siege from the elaborate descriptions of campaigns in the great epics or even the few historical works that we possess?

The truth of the foregoing proposition can be established by many examples; but it is not implied that we never meet a familiar face in the dreamland of our classical inheritance. The greatest of the Indian poets, indeed, gives us the best information on many a point about which our curiosity is roused. If Kālidāsa excels his compeers in the loftiness of his fancy and the nobility of his ideals, he is also 'truest to the kindred points of heaven and home.' Indian poetry had not yet had the burden of symbols, conventions and conceits, which clogged its weary steps in a later age; and the heroes and heroines of Kālidāsa's poetry are real men and women and not nāyakas and nāyikās for whom literary convention has dictated rigid rules of speech and action in a number of prescribed moods and situations. Again, if in the human he perceived the divine, his divine is also what is

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best in the human. I think this is what Geothe meant when he said that the Śakuntalā was a 'single name' for earth and heaven combined.

If Kālidāsa is thus a great poet of humanity, he is also a child of the age in which he lived. There are good reasons for believing that in his works generally and in the Meghadūta in particular he has reflected in a great measure the habit, tastes and opinions of his contemporaries in the words and actions of his heroes and heroines. Whether the Meghadūta was composed in his early youth or it is the "In Memoriam" of a widower written in his ripe old age, it unquestionably is the composition of a versatile observer, who has been a 'part' of many lands besides his own. The world of the Meghadūta is very much the same as that of the golden age of the Imperial Guptas. It is a vivid sketch of the life of a people who were in the enjoyment of such peace, prosperity and the amenities of a highly developed, artificial civilization as, we know, were witnessed in India during the rule of the great Guptas, when, it is believed, the great poet lived. The bustling, vigorous life of the city of Ujjayinī as recorded in the Meghadūta undoubtedly represents its actual condition after Candragupta II's conquest of Guzerat, which made it the great emporium for western trade.

A very important rolê in this lyrical masterpiece of India is played by the women. As a matter of fact, the very charm of the poem lies mainly in its description of the fair objects of nature and the fair sex. In the eye of the poet, indeed, there was not a difference of kind but only of form between woman and nature. He certainly perceived one great consciousness pervading both. It was part of his creed to think that nature was sentient and that it participated in the joys and sorrows of man. Even while describing beauty of form, Kālidāsa frequently calls in Nature to bring out his conception of womanly grace and dignity, and vice versa. If for the dark iris and white ball of a full black eye, he finds no fitter object of comparison than a large black bee sitting right on the centre of the cup of the white Kunda flower, if for the lovely heroine rendered pale and wan on account of separation from her beloved, his ready simile is the moon kerchieft in a dark, comely cloud, or the lotus blighted by winter or again the Sthala-kamalinī flower on a cloudy day when it is neither open nor shut, he similarly invokes the comely grace of the woman's body and her various moods in order to describe nature. He compares the Narmadā lying in a thin stream at the foot of the

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Vindhya hill to the woman's lovely locks tied in a single braid, the Vertravatī with her dancing waves to the face of a woman broken into a frown, the tumultuous Nirvindhyā river with rows of birds flying aloft to the girdle-string which graces a lady's waist, and the water of the reed-edged Gambhīrā to a blue garment slipping down and being held up by the hand.

A striking point about Kālidāsa's treatment of women in the Meghadūta is that he has always placed them in a natural setting. Natural scenery, likewise, is generally described with some fair one as its enjoyer. Thus, the Rāmagiri groves are mentioned along with the fact that the daughter of Janaka loved to bathe in its limpid lakes; the Nīcaiḥ hills are the haunts of young courtesans; lovely flower-girls are busy culling flowers in gardens adjacent to swift-flowing rivulets. In fact, so great was the harmony between woman and nature that the one is almost the other in his poetry. The exquisite lines in which the Yakṣa sums up his message to his beloved wife gives us the clue to Kālidāsa's creed of nature (Meghadūta, II, 45):

Śyāmāsv aṅgaṃ cakitāhariṇīprekṣaṇe dṛṣṭipātaṃ
Vaktracchāyaṃ śaśini śikhināṃ barhabhāreṣu keśān/
Utpaśyāmi pratanuṣu nadīvīciṣu bhrūvilāsān
Hantaikasmin kvacid api na te caṇḍi sādṛśyam asti//

I shall now proceed to an examination of the types of woman described in the Meghadūta. A few preliminary observations on the attitude which Kālidāsa seems to take towards woman in this poem are, however, necessary. In the first place, it rather forces itself on our attention that the principal, if not the only, objects of interest for Kālidāsa are the young women alone and that he may be said to have neglected altogether girls of a tender age. Again, it is rather strange that what seems to interest him in the character of these women is their sensuousness and passionateness; he represents youth as a disquieting, distracting element, which finds its expression and satisfaction in the pleasures of the senses. We fail to know from Kālidāsa what part our ladies played in the serious concerns of life. When the great poet introduces us to a young housewife, we find her busy at her toilet, or, we are informed, she is still on her bed, the morning breeze which should have called her to her household duties making her sleep all the more soundly. Another very striking thing in the Meghadūta is the prominence given to courtesans of various classes. It would be

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no exaggeration, in fact, to say that an unblushing, candid and realistic picture of the charms of these women is a special theme of this poem.

Mr. Havell has observed that Indian art takes cognisance of women primarily as matrons and not as objects of physical beauty. It is spiritual beauty, says he, that Indian art insists upon. One would wish that these observations, which are true of Indian art as a whole, were also true of this great artistic production of Kālidāsa as well. But, if they are not applicable in this case, we need not deplore the fact or condemn the poet. To a great extent Kālidāsa was bound down by the choice of his subject. The mental state of his hero, destined to live away from his beloved the wretched life of an exile, necessarily colours his whole outlook upon life. And I have already stated that Kālidāsa's art is never so idealistic that it leaves actualities behind or that it fails to reflect real human elements or passions. It seems to me that the description of women in the Meghadūta is a substantially accurate representation of their actual condition in the age in which he lived, and that there are omissions but not mistakes. He does not, it is true, touch on every possible side of woman's activity in his time—the subject-matter does not allow it—but he describes a variety of types, and his descriptions are vivid and faithful.

The types of women described or noticed in this poem are:

(1) The women of Non-Aryan primitive races of India (vanacaravadhū).—They live in the forest to the south of the Narmadā. The poet throws out a dark hint at their character by the expression 'bhuktakunje'.

(2) The women of the Siddhas (siddhāṅganā).—According to Mallinātha the Siddhas were a class of devas (holy men?). They lived with their wives on hill-tops and worshipped the god Śiva for attaining heaven after death. They led simple and abstemious lives and played upon the lute, perhaps as a devotional exercise. The Siddha wives were so simple-minded that when during the rains the clouds were driven by wind, they would wonder with faces upturned whether it was the crest of the hill blown away by the storm.

(3) The village maiden (janapadavadhū).—Kālidāsa devotes only one stanza to a description of the most common type of the womenfolk of India, who are numerically the strongest and form really the backbone of the nation, viz., the peasant women. We meet the peasant girl on the field where the day's task has just been finished and the air is thick with the aroma of the freshly tilled soil. Kālidāsa praises

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the pleasant, affectionate look of her eyes, full of simplicity and purity of heart and draws a comparison with the looks of the eyes of the city damsel.

(4) Wives whose husbands are travelling in foreign lands (pathikavanitā or virahiṇī).—In the days of Kālidāsa such women were numerous enough, both in towns and villages, to form a class by themselves. Travelling, both for pleasure and business, was, it seems, a usual thing in those days of brisk trade and stirring events. The customs of society in early times required that the wife should put on a sign of mourning for her absent lord: she should neither dress herself gaily, nor toilet her hair, which should hang in a single braid over her back to signify her sorrow and anxiety for her husband. It was certainly in the fitness of things in a Hindu home with our notions of chastity that the wife should behave so in the absence of her husband, and in many cases undoubtedly this neglect of proper toileting was a genuine expression of the feelings of the girl. But there is no doubt that it gradually became a mere pose, a mere affectation; and there were certainly some frisky girls who had their eye on heightening their charms and improving their looks by an 'agreeable negligence.' In a class of Sanskrit literature, therefore, we find the virahiṇī or pathikavanitā as a regular conventional nāyikā, whom poets represent as they like.[1]

The Meghadūta is full of references to the virahiṇī, and, because the wife of the Yakṣa is in the same predicament, the poet approaches the subject with the tender respect that the condition of the woman demands. As the events described in the Meghadūta happen in the rainy season, when the men return from foreign lands, the poet describes the anxions wives as getting consolation at the sight of the first cloud of the month of Āṣāḍha. I refrain from describing in detail the condition of the virahiṇī, because it means in effect summarising nearly one fourth of the whole poem.

(5) The flower-girls (puṣpalāvī).—As flowers were in great demand in cities, gardens in the suburbs where the jasmine plants naturally grew were frequented by young flower-girls busy plucking the flowers. The poet describes them as hard at their work, perspiring freely, their cheeks flushed and their floral ear-pendants withered and drooping. If they are girls of tender age, they are, I think, the only

1 Cf. for example, the ingenious lines of the Śṛṅgāratilaka, a work ascribed to Kālidāsa.

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ones noticed in this poem, with possibly one exception which I will presently mention.

(6) Unmarried girls (kanyā).—The poet describes the girls of his dream-city of Alakā as playing the 'Guptamaṇi' game under the shade of the Mandāra trees, being refreshed by the breeze, cooled by contact with the water of the divine Mandākinī river. These would-be brides of the gods resemble their human sisters so much that we would not be wrong if we take them as representing the average Hindu girl of a good family of the poet's time.

(7) The city damsels (paurāṅgaṇā).—The poet describes the damsels of the great cities of Ujjayinī and Daśapura (modern Mandasor), as well as those of his dream-city of Alakā and brings into sharp relief their highly artificial, luxurious ways of life. The prominent objects of interest in Ujjayini, according to the poet, are the women; and he says that those who have not looked at their beautiful eyes are as good as blind. The women of Daśapura are adept in sending speechless messages through their eyes, and when they lift the dark lashes of their charming eyes, it seems that black bees are chasing the white Kunda flowers. The poet describes the lalita-vanita (fair women) of Ujjayinī as living in gorgeous palaces, scented with flowers and dyed red with lac-marks left by their feet.

(8) The courtesans.—The same reasons which gave rise to the class of the hetaiera in Athens were also responsible for the growth of the free women in the cities of ancient India. They played an important part in the public and private life of our country, and undoubtedly contained many women of the type of Theodote and Aspasia. Our poet seems to have collected a good deal of information about them and does not hesitate to describe them as objects of beauty. He notices three classes of these women, which are as follows:

(i) Paṇyastrī.—The expression is clear enough to need any explanation.

(ii) Abhisārikā.—They would go out to meet their lovers under cover of a dark night in the trysts. They seem to have been married women or in any case not free to carry on their love affairs, as the poet says that they were extremely timid. These women sometimes came from rich families; for we learn that while passing through the streets at night they would drop, through trepidation, some of their golden ear-rings, pearl necklaces, etc.

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(iii) Veśyā.—These are the same as the Devadāsīs of modern Hindu temples. We find them dancing before the god Mahākāla at Ujjain, their girdles jingling beautifully at the rhythmic movement of their feet and their hands wearied with waving the jewelled cāmara. But the poet does not fail to notice the long side-glances thrown by the play of their dark eye-lashes, resembling bees in flight, at young visitors of the temple.

The foregoing survey of the various types of women described in the Meghadūta prepares us for our next object of inquiry, viz., the poet's ideal of a beautiful woman. Let us find out the features on which the poet lays stress in describing the various types of womanhood. That a chief element of woman's glory lay in dark and shining locks may be proved by the fact that the poet refers to it more than once and uses it as a simile. The ladies of Kālidāsa's time used to dress their hair in various ways as they do now, and flowers as well as strings of pearls were used for the hair to heighten the beauty of the face. Dark eye-lashes resembling a line of bees are described more than once by Kālidāsa and the looks in the eyes more than the eyes themselves were to him the main objects of interest. He contrasts the gentle, affectionate looks of the village maids with the artful glances of the city damsels, and at Alakā, says he, cupid would do his work by the graceful play of the creeper-like eye-brows alone. The lips of a fair woman the poet usually compares to the ripe bimba fruit, and in one stanza the word bimbādharā is used almost as a synonym for a beautiful woman. It is rather surprising that the breast and the waist, which are such prominent objects of interest for Sanskrit poets, are never elaborately described in the Meghadūta: they generally come in as similes or in connection with the ornaments used for them. For the feet Kālidāsa uses the lotus as a simile, and it seems that his ear is sooner capitivated by the jingling of the anklets than his eye by the beauty of the foot. The various traces of loveliness we find combined in the wife of the Yakṣa, who, of course, is the most perfect woman. She is thus described by the poet:—"young and slim, with pointed teeth, and lips like ripe bimba fruit, thin-waisted, with eyes like those of a timid fawn; her gait sedate on account of the heaviness of her hips and her form slightly bent on account of her full-grown orbs." This type of beauty was, unquestionably, the poet's ideal, for we find other heroines, such as Umā, Śakuntalā etc. similarly described. (cf., for example, 'āvarjitā kiñcid iva stanābhyām'

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etc., in the Kumārasambhava.) We find also similar expressions in contemporary works of art, and this certainly was the standard of beauty in the poet's time.

I shall now endeavour to find out and discuss the light which the Meghadūta throws on the life of the women described above. I have already observed that the city dames had an extremely artificial and luxurious way of living. What Miss Olive Schreiner calls the 'parasitic' stage in the life of the woman may indeed be discerned in the palaces of the rich at Ujjyainī and Daśapura, as described by the poet. Nevertheless, even a superficial perusal of the poem does not fail to impress us with the fact that our ladies in that age were in constant touch with nature. There is certainly an amount of poetical exaggeration in the poet's account, but all deductions and eliminations notwithstanding, the fact remains that in the life of the women of ancient India, nature played a very important and altogether wholesome part. We would, of course, call it a superstition, but there was undoubtedly more than that in the custom which required the woman to put her left foot on the Aśoka tree that it might blossom. The deep sympathy between nature and woman is a very important feature of the life described in the Meghadūta.

The repeated mention of floral ornaments in the Meghadūta indicates the extensive use of them by the ladies of all classes. We find the lotus being used by the puṣpalāvī as an ear-pendant, the Śirīṣa flower used for the ear by the fair women of Alakā. Pārvatī sought to heighten her celestial charms by using the lotus leaf as an ear-pendant. We learn that the flower counted as an important article for the toilet of the hair. It was not only inlaid with Kunda buds, but fresh Kuruvaka flowers were stuck to the braided hair, and the Kadamba was flung from up the parting of the hair. The Mandāra flower was used for the same purpose by the abhisarikās of the place. We learn further from the poet that the ladies of the time would apply to their face the pollen of the Lodhra blossom in order to make it look yellowish white.

The young ladies, it seems, spent a good deal of time over their toilet. The ladies of Ujjain perfumed their locks with scented fumes, and the use of lac for reddening the foot was a universal custom. The fair ones would also use scents of various sorts (e.g., sandal paste etc.) so that when they were engaged in water-sports, the air would become thick with their smell. Among the ornaments worn by ladies we find the following mentioned :—a net of pearls for the tresses, the jingling girdle

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for the waist, bangles, both plain and with diamond points, bangles, which would make a pleasing, jingling sound (worn by the wife of the Yakṣa), golden lilies for the hair, and various sorts of necklaces,—a variety particulary mentioned being a string of pearls with an Indranīla gem as pendant. The poet informs us that an important object of attraction for sight-seers at Ujjain were the pearls, corals, diamonds, etc., with the shoots of their rays jetting forth. They were exposed for sale in the market-stalls. He also mentions various sorts of silken garments as being worn by the ladies and himself shows a partiality for the blue colour when put on by the fair ladies.

The women of the time lived a gay, robust life. They certainly enjoyed light and air, the two blessings of god, more freely than their less fortunate sisters of the cities of modern India, and we have already seen that life was then not devoid of romance. Their intimate touch with nature lifted life out of the dull routine of household duties. The wife of the Yakṣa found some consolation in her grief by rearing up a young Mandāra plant as her son. Another diversion for her was talking with the caged parrot or making the pea-fowl dance by clapping her beautiful hands.

Many of the fine arts of ancient India were diligently cultivated by the ladies. The wife of the Yakṣa was a good musician. She could not only play upon the lute, but could herself compose songs in which her husband's name would occur again and again. She was skilled in painting too, and could draw from her imagination the likeness of her husband emaciated by separation. The poet tells us that the walls of the palaces of Ujjain were adorned by numerous paintings, and it is possible that some of them were drawn by the ladies of the house.

It is not easy always to separate the real from the ideal in the works of the poets. In the foregoing discussion on the condition of the women described in the Meghadūta, I have proceeded on the assumption that the poem reflects their actual condition in the age of the poet. The picture that he gives is a happy and bright one. In the works of this immortal poet we get a glimpse of the happy, slow-moving life of our ancestors in a country, which for centuries had been the site of a mighty civilisation, and which, as yet, was on the whole undisturbed by foreign conquest.

SAILENDRANATH DHAR

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Christian Mysticism in the light of the Buddha's Doctrine

The Buddha's Doctrine contains not a trace of mysticism. To be sure, it brings unusual knowledge, and teaches also how to set up the conditions for unusual powers, but all this with the normal human cognitive faculties, even if in the state of their highest possible development; and the whole thing in the form of the Law of Causation, i. e., of the consideration of all objects of knowledge exclusively from the point of view of Causality.[1] But not only does the Buddha's Doctrine contain no mysticism, *in reality there never has been such a thing at all anywhere in it.* The solution of this problem of mysticism in general ought to be one of great interest to Buddhists also, because it is precisely the consideration of this question which makes the Buddha's Doctrine shine forth in all the more bright a light. This consideration of mysticism will be undertaken in this manner, that the system of the greatest of all Western "mystics," Master Eckhart, will be subjected to a critical evaluation. If the method by means of which he acquired his knowledge is penetrated, then precisely thereby without anything further, all other mystics also, *as such*, are comprehended, just because they have all arrived at their results upon the same path.

The characteristic form of all mysticism is this,—a mystic "inner light," altogether different in its nature from normal cognition, which begins to shine in different individuals; and then, as the result of this mystic "illumination," comes a knowledge which, just because not won through normal perception, cannot be imparted with the apparatus of this normal perception, words and concepts. The real *object* of mysticism, however, is the super-sensual, the transcendental, the divine, which lies at the roots of the world.

What position now does Master Eckhart occupy in this field?

I

Eckhart, as a Dominican monk, was a faithful son of his Church, a convinced Catholic. That comes out prominently in all his sermons. This also he expressly affirms, in as many words, when he says that

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1 (*cf.* The essay "Is the Doctrine of the Buddha Science" in the Maha Bodhi Journal, 1926, 1927).

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he believes the Scriptures more than himself. This also is specially confirmed in the declaration which he had read out on the 13th of February, 1327, in the Dominican Church in Cologne, in reply to the attacks made upon him: he had always only looked to the true Faith and to the right Doctrine; every error which could be pointed out to him, he withdrew in advance, and wished he had not uttered or written. Nay, without thereby abandoning a single one of his utterances, he corrected and recanted every utterance of his of which any one would be in a position to point out that it was based upon a faulty use of reason. For him, therefore, the entire structure of the teachings of Catholic dogma stood unshakeably firm.

Eckhart, however, was also of a nature inclined to *meditation*, or, more accurately, inclined to *looking within*; and this in a manner and to a degree which, for Buddhists, gives rise to a surprising supposition, to which due expression will later be given.

These two points of view must be well borne in mind if one wishes to understand Eckhart and arrive at a correct judgment of him; nay, they are of *fundamental* importance to such an understanding.

Next, as regards the second characteristic of Eckhart, his endeavours after knowledge on the path of contemplative meditation, according to him, the cognitive activity of the soul directed outward never penetrates to the essence of things. "All its activities—[the Saṅkhārās in the Doctrine of the Buddha]—the soul carries out by means of the forces. What it cognises, that it cognises with the reason. If it thinks of aught, this it does with the memory. Should it love, this it does with the will ... . and every one of its outward motions is ever joined to some one means or other. The power of sight it sets going only by means of the eyes, else it may not fulfil or bestow any such thing as seeing. And so with *all* the senses. Ever for their manifestation does it make use of some kind of means or other." "If now the powers of the soul enter into contact with the creature, they take and create from it an image and likeness, and draw that into themselves .... Closer the creature may not press into the soul. Also the soul never busies itself more closely with a creature until it has beforehand fully taken into itself an image thereof ...., be it a stone, a rose, a man or whatever it be that it seeks to know, each time it first brings forth an image which it has taken in beforehand. Only in this wise may it unite itself with the object. But if a man in such wise takes an image into himself, this of necessity must come from without through the senses." . . . "But every image does

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not point to, and offer, itself; it ever leads, and points, to that of which it is the image." Because the soul through external cognitive activity cannot penetrate to the essence, but always only to the outer wrappings of things, that is, to their *image*, naturally therefore, it also cannot upon this path come to a knowledge of itself. Nay, with regard to itself it never even manages to get as far as to such a mere *image*, since she stands *behind* her senses, the senses which convey the images to her, thus, for example, behind the mediating eye. "Therefore to the soul is there nothing so unknown as herself. The soul, so says a Master, is not able to make or project any image of herself. Therefore has she naught whereby she might know herself. For an image ever enters only through the senses, consequently she can have no image of herself. Therefore does she know all else, only not herself. Of nothing does she know so little as of herself,—even because of this mediating." And yet although the soul knows nothing of herself, nevertheless Eckhart knows what it is, just as he also knows of the "unknown God beyond God" what he is: God is Spirit. "And yet, through and through, God so is Spirit, that compared with Him the soul and the angels are almost something corporeal. If any one should paint the most exalted among the seraphim with black pigment, the likeness would be far greater than if one should paint God in the form of the highest seraph; beyond all measure it would be unlike." Elsewhere he also says: "The divine Being is Reason." "God is Reason, since he alone lives to his own knowledge," and then again: "Because the Godhead by His very nature is reason," "And this rational Being or God to the rational soul has *given a shape even as his own*," "Therefore does Augustine rightly say: 'As God is made, so also is the soul'," "For the soul is created like unto the Godhead." *Therefore*, thus, since God is pure spirit, so also is the soul pure spirit. And how does Eckhart know all this?

He knows it through his *Church* which teaches him that God is the very highest reason, the human soul his exact image, and therefore likewise pure spirit. As a believing Catholic, these for Eckhart were axioms which stood fast antecedent to all individual experience. To doubt them, more especially to doubt the axiom that the soul is *essentially* spirit, was for the man in Catholic Orders a simple impossibility. His individual experience could, and might, merely serve to *confirm* for him the truth of these axioms.

And because the soul at its *foundation*, or because—on that

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very account—"*the soul-basis*" is pure spirit, a pure mass of cognition, therefore the mode of cognition previously described which has the assistance of the five outer senses, is not *essential* to the soul.[1] "All its activities the soul carries out by means of its powers", we heard above. But "these powers by means of which she works, verily *spring out* of the basis of the soul, but in that basis itself there is only deep silence". In this basis "there is no kind of work whatever". Thus the soul may also again cease from those "activities", yea, from all its powers whatsoever, thus, for example, also "the force by means of which man digests food"; it can again "withdraw" them, "again call them home."

Eckhart calls these *inessential* attributes of the soul—thus, what the Buddha calls *anattā*—the "created," "the imaged," "the pertaining to the creature," that "which has name." All these attributes are painful for us, and therefore in truth unsuited to us. "What is of thee and in thee, all this is very sickly and corrupt." Hence he names as the most direct aim, "the becoming empty of all that is created," "the turning away from all that is created." Therefore does he require that to all that has name the soul should not *attach itself*, nor this to it. Therefore, finally, the soul must "pass out of her created nature," it must again become *pure* spirit, a *pure* mass of cognition, and must become this, all the more so, that thereby at the same time it makes possible the hitherto impossible to wit that, thereby, it cognises *the essence*. "The formless, image-less essence" can in fact only be cognised by its like, thus, by a cognition equally free from all limitations arising through the senses. "Thus, then, all that is imaged, strip off, and unite yourselves to the image-less and formless essence!" To be sure, the *essence* of the soul, the soul's basis is *always* pure, formless cognition, even when the soul is externally occupied with the powers of the senses, thus, with its creature-like parts, inasmuch as no image, nothing creature-like, forces its way into its *basis*. "In the purest that the soul may have to offer, in her noblest, in the basis; in short, in the *essence* of the soul, there is the deep silence; for thither reaches never a creature nor any image whatsoever." But, "the

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1 In contradistinction to the Buddha, Eckhart naturally knows only *five* senses, since thinking, thus cognition, in its narrower and genuine sense, for him is an *immediate* function, the activity of the *essence* itself.

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soul is so straitly bound to the powers, that she flies away with them whithersoever they fly away. For in everything that they effect the soul must be present, and that verily with attention, else with their action they would bring about naught. If now in external action she should dissolve away with her attention, inevitably must she be all the weaker inwardly in her *internal* efficacy." And so there results as a self-understood *path* the realisation of perfect *"separation,"* in the sense of the soul withdrawing to her innermost, to her basis, where she is wholly "one with herself." "Perfect separation wills only to be one with herself." "Thus must the soul keep herself altogether pure, and live altogether nobly, wholly united and wholly inward, and not run outward through the senses into the multiplicity of creatures, but be completely inward and united in the purest that she possesses. *This* is her state: all that is lesser goes against this." "Will thine eye behold all things, thine ear hearken all things, thy mind have all of them present: verily, in all these things shall thy soul be dispersed. Therefore does a Master say: if a man would perfect an inward work, he must draw in all his powers, as it were into a corner of his soul, and conceal himself from all images and forms, and then he may work. In a forgetting and in an ignorance—[of the external world] must he come hither. Stillness and silence must there be." "Now has the soul dispersed and scattered herself abroad along with the powers, each in its work, the power of seeing in the eye, the power of hearing in the ear, the power of tasting in the tongue. And in equal measure are they all the weaker for carrying on their work *inwardly*. For every scattered force is imperfect. Hence if she will unfold a powerful efficacy inwardly, she must call all her powers home again, and bringing them clean out of scattered things, gather them together into an inward working....Here is an example. There was a Master among the heathen. He was devoted to an art, the art of reckoning. He sat before the fire and wrote down figures and practised himself diligently in his art. Then came one with a drawn sword, who knew not that it was the Master, and cried: "Quick, speak! What is thy name? Or I kill thee!" The Master was so wholly withdrawn within himself that he neither saw nor heard anything of his foe, neither did he in any wise understand what was wanted of him. And after the enemy had several times cried out to him, and he had made no answer, he struck off his head. This in order to attain to a natural art. How incomparably much more also ought we to loosen ourselves from all things, and to gather together all our powers

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where it is a matter of regarding and cognising the one only measureless, uncreated, eternal truth. To this end summon up thy whole reason and all thy thinking ; and thus turn them into the bottom where this treasure lies concealed. If that is to befall, then know that thou must drop all else ; thou must attain unto an *ignorance*."

From these passages it stands out ever more clearly what Eckhart was aiming at *practically*. Exactly like the Buddha, he aimed at *Concentration of Mind*, at *purest* cognition, undisturbed by anything else whatever :—"Hail, of a truth, to the noble mind, that is taken up into the rich, the *bare* cognition that is unknown to all those that are not stripped of their *I*, and of all things." Only, Eckhart ever and again insists that in this concentration of mind we gather together our deepest, most genuine essence, inasmuch as we withdraw into it only upon the *basis* of our essence, upon our *soul basis*, which is precisely pure cognition, *i. e.*, cognition bound to no kind of mediating *organ* of cognition. "Thus—[that is, just in this pure spirituality]—must thou tarry and abide in thy *essence*, in thy *basis*."

This concentration of the mind must reach such a degree as, with the Buddha, brings about the raising of the mind into the *Realm of Nothing Whatsover*. The powers of the mind must be so completely drawn inwards that the senses come to a complete standstill, and thereby become entirely unreceptive to impressions from without. Nay, even every remembrance of the outside world, of one's own personality indeed, and therewith of one's own life, must be completely wiped out. And not yet that ! the organic life itself exactly—as in the Buddha teaching from the Fourth Jhāna onwards—must temporarily cease. "Then mayest thou all at once become unknowing of all things, yea, thou mayest fall into an ignorance of thine own life also ! As also befell St. Paul when he says : Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell. God knoweth. Then had the mind so wholly withdrawn all its powers within itself that for him the body had disappeared. Then, was neither the memory any longer active, nor the reason, nor the senses, nor yet those forces upon which it lies to guide and embellish the body ; the fire of life and the heat of life were stayed whereby the body did not decline, though he neither ate nor drank for three days.... Thus then ought a man to withdraw from his senses, to turn his forces inwards and come inwards in a forgetting of all things and of himself." Then the mind stands quite alone by itself, then it is *absolutely* no longer aware of anything *imaged*, and thus can affirm *that nothing more for it is present*. "And now the Separateness borders

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so nigh upon the Naught, that between perfect Separateness and the Naught there is no distinction". "Perfect Separateness, seeks to be one only with itself. But to be this or to be that, this it does not seek. For whosoever seeks that seeks to be something; but Separateness seeks to be Naught." 'If the mind is to have perfect readiness, then must it rest *upon a pure Naught*: in this resides also the highest power there can be. Take a likeness from life. If I wish to write upon a white tablet, even though something ever so beautiful already stand written thereon, yet does it confuse me. If I wish to write well, then must I wipe out what already stands thereon; and never does it serve so well thereto as when *nothing at all* stands written upon it. Even so all that is called this or that, must out of the heart. As it verily is the case with the Separated heart..... Hence, thus, is no this and that the *object* of the Separated heart." "The soul sinks into the pure Naught." "Empty of all go-betweens and of all images." "There shall one then win a free *penetrating vision* with indrawn senses," there may the miracle of the vision of Essence succeed.[1]

1. First of all, it was *confirmed* for the Seer that the *soul-basis* thus, our genuine essence, actually is completely pure cognition, and confirmed by this fact, that *everything* else is stripped off, as well the entire external world with all its splitting up into someone and something, as one's own body with its sensitive and vegetative functions, so that in fact nothing more remains over but just the spirit that has become free, the *unknowable cognition* alone, "bare of all determination." "And as for me no definite thing and no individual is any longer

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1 All religious geniuses seek to make their way out of the transient, the non-essential, which is the world, into the intransient, the essential into which all things should return. This essential, "the marvellous thing," the ordinary man pictures to himself as a personal God, the mystic as the Godhead, and the Brahmins as Brahman (neuter). The Buddha, in perfect fashion, calls it *Nibbāna*, since there no single concept any longer holds good :—

"Those who see the essential (*sāra*) in the non-essential (*asāra*)
And the non-essential in the essential,
They arrive never at the essential,
But those who know the essential and the non-essential as what they are,
They at the essential verily do arrive." (Dhammapada 11, 12).

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present, so also am I for none any longer a soul ... ... Therewith it is said that she is so completely stripped of every kind of determination, yea, and of her own *I* also, that she has nothing more of herself to be present as *anything whatsoever*, for *any one whatsoever*,"—words in which Eckhart again describes with all the clearness one could desire, *the realm of Nothing Whatsoever*. In order to penetrate this quite clearly, let us look attentively at the following two parallel passages which, in their similarity, nay, their sameness, together with the extreme rarity of the occurrence they describe, excite our awe-struck astonishment, more specially when one remembers that one set of words was spoken in Germany thirteen hundred years after Christ, and the other in Central India about five hundred years before Christ. Let us read thoughtfully, word by word, these significant documents for the fact that all real wisdom finally tends toward *one* centre. Thus Master Eckhart says of the soul that finds itself upon that high pinnacle: "All is fallen away from it to which any one whatsoever could be anything whatsoever or whereby it could be anything whatsoever to any one whatsoever." The Buddha says: "I am not anything whatsoever, with any one whatsoever, in anything whatsoever; neither does anything whatsoever belong to me anywhere whatsoever, with anything whatsoever; such a thing there is not. This, ye monks, is called the third stage to the realm of Nothing Whatsoever."[1] In the face of such passages can there be the slightest doubt that the domain depicted by Master Eckhart is just that of Nothing Whatsoever?

2. But with this cognition Eckhart was not content. In this fashion, indeed, his own *I*, his genuine essence, his own *soul-basis*, had so far unveiled itself to him that in no case had he anything to do with the *creature-like* parts of him, thus, with his body and the five external senses, and thereby, with the phenomenal world made accessible to him through these. But Eckhart wished to know more than merely about himself; he wished to fathom the nature of the *entire* world. This *underpinning*, this *kernel*, of the world, this ultimate *essence*, which supports all, upon which all rests, for him, as a believing Catholic, was naturally *God*. "Essence in itself" and "God," were therefore for him synonymous concepts. For him, again that stood sure *before* all individual experience. This his Church guaranteed to

1 Majjhima Nikāya, II, 263.

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him, and guaranteed it all the more readily that this dictum about God as the primary principle of all, is precisely what constitutes its foundation. To shake in any way this foundation of his Church never entered his mind. For him it was something not to be touched; all the more so that every thinking man, of himself simply, through mere reflection, is led to the thought—just as Eckhart the extremely inclined to metaphysics, quite naturally was led to it—that this world of appearances in which we find ourselves placed, cannot be the ultimate, but rather that something unconditioned must lie at the basis of the conditioned, something eternal at the base of the temporal;[1] and that the Christian Church just means this unconditioned, this eternal, when it speaks of *God*. For Eckhart, as for every master of "divine wisdom", it was merely a question of penetrating with his reason as deeply as possible into this God-concept as his Church had entrusted it to him. Only with reason in its genuine sense, namely, through *reflexion*, and thereby, through *deduction*, not through immediate envisagement, does this concept permit of crystallizing out as the highest and ultimate abstraction that is won from the flood of appearances, and allow of being filled with a content. "If any one imagines that he has known God, and pictures to himself anything whatsoever under that name, he has known anything whatsoever, only, not God." "And so, man may not know at all what God is. Somewhat he well knows: what God is *not*. All this, then, the *reasoning* man strips off." "The reason pulls off this wrapping from God, and takes simply God: when he is stripped of goodness, being, and all names." In *this* wise, thus, did Eckhart seek to settle with the God-concept handed on to him by his Church, and with the definition of this concept by the Church, equally *binding* upon him. According to the legal definition of the Church, however, and thereby, according to the general Catholic dogma, God, above all, is the highest Being, and thereby, the primary principle of all that in any wise is. God is pure mind, *i. e.*, pure knowing. These attributes of God reappear in Eckhart in the following shape: God is "Being." "In God alone is the *entire*, divine Being." Nay, "God is something that indispensably must stand *above* Being. For all that has a being in

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1 *Cf.* Itivuttaka 43: "There *is*, ye monks, a not- born, not- become not- made, not- arisen. *If there were not* this not-born, not-become, not-made, not-arisen, then also a way out of the born, become, made, arisen, were not discernible."

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time and space, does not belong to God. He himself stands above..... In a non-being Being he reigns. Ere there was a Being, God was at work. He became Creator *because* there was no Being ... ... I maintain, it is as perverse when I call God a Being, as if I called the sun pale or black·····But when I have deduced that God is no Being, that he stands *above* Being, thereby I have not denied Him being but I have ennobled and elevated it in Him." "God is an United-one. This is, as such, only through itself and not through another." He is "the image-less and formless essence," "the nameless essence," "the bottomless abyss." That this Being is *mind*, thus a *knowing*, or, as Eckhart also says, a *rational* Being, we have already heard above. And God's blessedness just consists in "pure knowing in weaving with itself."

So thought the not *seeing*, but the merely *thinking*, orthodox Dominican monk; so thought the *theologian* Eckhart. But also *the seer* Eckhart found his reckoning in his Church. This church also teaches to its adherents the possibility—despite His general unknowability—of coming into immediate contact with this God through Grace, which is "a light that out of God's nature streams directly into the soul." This "divine light" must arise in a man, in contradistinction to the "natural light," if he is to envisage truth. And it arises, the man thus becomes a participant in divine Grace if he shows himself worthy of it, *i. e.*, if he makes himself fit for its appearing. It is perfectly clear without further words, that for a nature like Eckhart's the opening up of such a prospect was bound to constitute the most powerful imaginable spur to the experiencing of this "divine light". Upon this, precisely on this account, was concentrated the whole of his *practical* religiosity. And he never rested until the great event was actually consummated,—consummated in that most profound isolation, in that "desolated self-estrangement," in that "total stillness and void," which we have just seen him praise as the highest, in which "the man stands in a pure Naught," thus, precisely, in the *realm of Nothing Whatsoever* wherein man "as nothing goes to nothing." Let us just try to picture to ourselves Eckhart in this state, as vividly as possible.

All that was corporeal in him, he had, for the time being, stripped off, and therewith also put a complete stop to the activities of the senses, and thereby also completely broken down the bridge that connects us with the world. Even the memory of this world and of its sense-endowed body had disappeared from his mind, and

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thus he was become *pure mind, pure knowing*, which stood over against a "Naught," which yet was not *the* Naught; for the mind *experienced* this nothing with its "profound silence," in its elevation above space and time, where one, "escaped from time," "stands wholly benumbed," *experienced* this "bottomless abyss" wherein nothing any longer is present to which one might still cling, experienced this "unbeing being" wherein everything "*of the nature of an image*" was blotted out, and which "makes the soul flow out of itself with joy and rapture." Was not Eckhart obliged, thus living and moving and having his being in the midst of what for him was the divine, to see his warmest wish, his boldest strivings, fulfilled in coming into union with the Godhead? Was he not bound to believe that he, "torn out of himself, looked upon the nameless essence"?

Can one even merely imagine that he in the least doubted that he had found the "secret entry into the divine nature where all things come to naught," the secret access to God who "dwells in a stillness that is beyond all stillness"? And so, as a matter of fact, during his whole life, he never wearied of extolling this situation, this *realm of Nothing Whatsoever*, to which his iron energy in striving after concentration had raised him, as "the true seeing into the mirror of God," as the "seeing into the divine, miraculous mirror." "There opens the pure and clear spring of the medicine of Grace which so enlightens the inward eye, that in rapturous beholding it experiences the delight of the divine visitation." But he not merely *saw*, Master Eckhart also *heard* "the eternal voice," heard "the Word." "In the midst of the silence was the secret Word spoken." "It opened and shone before me that it wished to reveal somewhat to me, and *gave me to know* of God. *For which cause* it is called a Word."

At other times, nay, by preference, Eckhart also calls this immediate revelation of God *the birth of God* in the soul. "Where man fetches and brings hither God from outside, he has not the true." "Born is God in the empty soul, inasmuch as he *reveals* himself to her in a new fashion that is void of all fashion, in an enlightenment that is no longer enlightenment, which is the divine light itself."

3. But even with this revelation of the *actuality* of God—anything further had not hitherto been revealed to him—Eckhart was not yet content. As theologian and philosopher he knew that there can be only *one* God, only *one* essence. Theology taught him: "God is a United-one. This is, as such, only through itself and not through another." "God is present in all places; and in each one of them,

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complete. But since now God is one and indivisible, all things and all places are a single state of God. Thus are all things full of God, —full of His divine essence without intermission." "Here the holy teachers answer: 'All things are God.' For this lies in the dogma according to which they eternally have been *in God*, and through this is it proven." As a philosopher, however, who works without the assistance of theological dogmas, *merely* with the abstracting reason— "the more powerful and the subtler she is, in that same measure what she knows is *gathered together to a unity*, and becomes one with her"— he knew: "What is the calling of essence? Its calling is, not to be anything outspoken or a person, but unchangeably to persist in its unity of essence. One and the same is the natural essence of the person, and also the essence of all things. It is Being in all Being, the light in all lighting, the nature in all natures. All this it is as the absolutely simple."

Eckhart, for whom already as a reflecting theologian and philosopher, these theses also stood firmly established, naturally sought their confirmation in the "realm of Nothing Whatsoever,"—and also found that confirmation there. For in this state of Nothing Whatsoever, all particularities, all persons and all things have disappeared; yea, in it "disappears" for the soul even her "own nature" as soul, *inasmuch as she bears this "designation" only in so far as she gives life to the body, and is the form of the same.* Rather does there remain nothing more over save the idea of a united, undifferentiated, thoroughly empty, shapeless, and indeed, un-spatial Being since space also is dismissed from the mind: "Nothing more is left save a united 'Is.'" With this, however, Eckhart believed to have directly grasped the *All*-Highest, the Godhead, the Essence in itself, believed that he had directly envisaged this Godhead, this Essence. In this "*united Is*" "she envisages the Aboslutely One." "This *Is* exists as the unity, which is Being itself,— her own, and that of all things." This *Is*, according to Eckhart, is also alluded to by Dionysius, so often quoted by him, when he says: "The United-one is the life of all that has life, the being of all that has being, the reason of all that has reason, the nature of all that is natural, the light of all that has light, and yet is not light, not life, not nature! The primary thing, says Dionysius, is above all names; it is withdrawn from love, and understanding, and conceiving. It is higher than "Being," higher than "Nature." It is neither light nor darkness! Truly, how strange to all it has founded is this foundation!"

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But that this "*Is*" is a *rational* "*Is*," a rational Being, Eckhart infers in *confirmation* of the teaching of his Church precisely from this, that it includes also the true being of the soul inasmuch as upon these heights, the latter is no longer able to distinguish herself from it, and the genuine essence of the soul, the *soul-basis*, Eckhart had found in pure knowledge, thus, in pure mentality. And precisely on this account, "whoever seeks to penetrate and establish the divine miracle, easily draws his knowledge—out of himself." "In the measure that man knows himself, even in that measure may he come to the knowledge of God." With this at the same time was demonstrated the eternal vocation of man. It consists precisely in this, that "one becomes to all things an alien, a waste," that one must cast off one's *personality*, in which, however, Eckhart does not include knowing. "The peculiarity of the essence is that it is without personality." Precisely thereby one then has withdrawn oneself to one's genuine essence, the soul-basis which is pure mind, pure knowing, and without anything further, flows into it, since now that which gives form and name, and also alone is subject to death, namely the personality, is cast off in the divine essence itself. "The soul, in the unity of the divine essence, has lost her name. Therefore is she no more called soul. Her name is measureless essence."[1] Just "upon this, that I and God thus become one, rests the eternal blessedness, "which, on its part again, "consists in pure knowing in weaving with itself." "Where God is blessed, in pure knowing in weaving with itself, there also shall the noble soul draw and receive her blessedness, even in that wherein God is blessed."[2]

4. This flowing into the Godhead, in accord with the modern spirit of the age, to-day is frequently apprehended as a doctrine of All-One, as understood by Pantheism, on which account Eckhart also again begins to become modern ; nay, our materialistic monists

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1 With this may be compared the words of the Buddha : "An Accomplished One, freed from corporeality, is deep, immeasureable, unfathomable, as the great ocean." *Cf.* George Grimm, "The Doctrine of the Buddha," p. 196

2 *Cf.* Nṛs.-utt.-tāp.-Up., 1 : "The Ātman has, as sole taste, thinking," "founded only in the certitude of its own self," *i.e.*, a thinking that is limited to the cognition of the certitude of its own self.

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actually think they may claim him as one of themselves. But here we have before us the same incredible misunderstanding which would fain stamp the Buddha, the representative of the highest transcendency of our essence, as a shallow modern naturalist, and therewith, as a materialist. Eckhart through and through was so much a believing Catholic theologian that nothing was further from his thoughts than to have the God-concept become submerged in the concept of the world, i.e., to let God be swallowed up in the eternal world-proccess, identifying with this latter. All to the contrary, for Eckhart it was a question of making comprehensible the triune God as the concept embracing all truth, more especially, all true being ; the world, however is an outflow from this divine Being ; and union with this God, because of the actualisation of eternal bliss, is the highest goal of man. Eckhart, thus, did not teach Pantheism, did not teach that Pan, the All, is God ; but he taught Pan-en-theism, that All has its origin in God. He did not teach physio-monism which regards nature as the One. What he taught was a *Theo-monism* which finds the One in God. If once this is understood, then in our modern "monists" also, who, as genuine materialists, one and all, are Physio-monists, will, as quickly as possible, take their hands off him, as also another kind of modern materialists will soon be obliged to take their hands off the Buddha's Doctrine. These gentlemen had much better leave the Titans of religion alone, and content themselves with their own "great ones," of whom they have legion.

Eckhart teaches Pan-en-theism. He teaches it thus : "In the Godhead distinction is to be made betwixt the *essence* and its *realisation*. Essence, in the sphere of the divine, means the Godhead in the narrower sense ; and that is the first we lay hold of in it." It is "in itself changeless unity and breathless stillness." "It abides" as a united "unbeing Being," "above all knowing," "and yet manifest to itself." "Along with this, however, it is *at the same time* 'a living spring of all individualisation,' and in so far becomes *God*." 'God and Godhead are distinguished as doing and not-doing."[1]

The Godhead becomes a living spring of individualisation. "As itself a simple thing, it also holds things enclosed within itself in simple form," since in itself there absolutely cannot be anything that is outside the Godhead, just because this is absolute Being. "Not that

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1 None the less, Eckhart uses the word "God" also, not seldom in the sense of "Godhead".

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we would have been manifestly in God as we now are: we were eternally in Him as the art in the master." Yet the essence as such does not give birth to things, nor yet does it "set" them. "For the Godhead does nothing, it has nothing to do. Within it there is nothing to do, and never has it looked about it for work to do." "God, as He is *in Himself*, has essence; and the essence dwells in inaccessible stillness; therefore is it immoveable: it converses not, it loves not, it begets not. *And yet it moves the moveable.*" This, however, takes place in the form of a "welling forth." There stream forth "the eternal life-forms" out of the essence which to this extent—thus, so far as it proceeds to become the generative principle—represents the outward-pressing, divine Nature," this "generativeness" being a "subsidiary and dependent property" of the "divine essence." Those "eternal life-forms" or "the archetypes of things" are thus "the organised expression of the divine essence" itself, "but in the eternal going forth in which they are emanated, yet without being a self, they are there, as in God, themselves good."

This "eternal going forth," to the Godhead itself—since "it is, from the very foundation, reason"—presents itself in this divine reason "as conceptually another." "The eternal going forth is a self-revealing of God in pure knowing, wherein that which is knowing is that which is known." In so far as the essence *proceeds* to become "the eternal, primal source of things," and it thus "inwardly comprehends itself," "its own nature becomes the object of its understanding," "it observes itself," *i. e.*, "the becoming self-conscious" enters "as a further determination,"—in so far has it developed itself onward to *God the father.* "Is it asked: Which of these determinations becomes the person of the Father? Our answer runs: The *essence* in the Godhead. Only, now no longer in its former indeterminateness, but in the determination of engendering. This determination projects the *Father* as divine person." "The Father mode and essence constitute only one single individual."—*God the son*, however, is that which is conceived in mind by God the Father. "In every rational conceiving, so teach the Masters, there is included a perceptible Word. Since now God, inwardly conceives himself, thus does his own nature become the object of his understanding: the Father observes himself.....In this sense, as concerns his essence, the Son remains in the Father, and at the same time comes before him as a person, according as this process—(the self-comprehending)—is divided into two determinations. In such wise is 'the Son' born and proceeds forth out of the paternal heart—*the Word*

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is uttered." As the comprehended, this Son is just *the totality* of the outward streaming life-forms, as the "organised expression of the divine essence." Thereby this Son is at the same time, *the formative principle* which determines the several life-forms as such ; it is that which effect the organisation as such : "The Son is, in the Father, *the shaper* of all things." In the birth of the Son all creatures have gone forth, and have received life and being ; as life, thus, do all things shape themselves in the Son." "If thus" this shaper of things had not from all eternity dwelt in the Father, the Father would not have been able to create anything." "This is the eternal stream of which never a drop has fallen into a creative reason,—this, the going forth 'of the Son' from the Father."—The third person in the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, however, is the product of the Father and the Son. The Father and the Son together produce the Holy Ghost. "Inasmuch as the Father, loving, pours himself into the Son, here, as it were, the love breaks and pours itself, now as the Son, again into the Father."

Therewith we get this result. "The eternal primordial source of things is the Father, the prototype of things in him is the Son, and his love towards this prototype is the Holy Ghost." "Up, noble soul ! Exalt thee to a divine miracle ! Ah, to this noble company ! the three persons, united into an absolutely single being !"

This is "*the kingdom of God*" "he himself in his complete actuality," *at the same time* as essence in his changeless, breathless stillness, and *at the same time* in his "actualisation," as "divine activity" in the three Persons. Both, inactive essence in its breathless stillness and divine activity in the three Persons, for eternities have been united, included, in God. "Essence canot exist without the Persons, and the Persons not without the divine nature." Without intermission has the Father given birth to the Son, gives birth to Him, and will give birth to Him." "The Father in *eternal* giving birth, is the primal origin of the Son. Father and Son together, in eternal pouring forth, cause the upspringing of the Holy Ghost."

This is the kingdom of God *for itself*, and *independent* of the created world. "Here alone, in such essential unity, since he exists above all existence, is God *in himself* a kingdom."

To this kingdom of God "above all existence" stands opposed the *created world*. Truly the essences of all creatures abide in the second Person of the Godhead, the Son, "the image of the Father, and *to this extent* the Trinity is already the world. But yet this is only what we call the world *in itself*. "The Trinity is at the

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time the world, because all creatures are *pre-typified* therein." In this world in itself, just on this account, there is as yet no multiplicity. "In God the prototypes of all things are equal. And yet are they the prototypes of unequal things. The highest angel, the soul, the flies, have all an equal prototype in God." This world in itself, as the mere "organised expression of the divine essence," is as eternal as this essence itself. "In the eternal streaming out wherein the Son is born, the prototypes of things are also streamed out. Thus is this eternal outwelling a primal source of things in respect of their eternity." In contradistinction to this, the world spread out in space in names and forms, thus the world *of appearance*, is *created* by the Trinity in time *out of* nothing. "All things that are there, are not through themselves, but have sprung up in *eternity* out of a primal source which there wells up out of itself, and *in time are created out of nothing* through the Holy Trinity." "In time are they created out of nothing, and by that are they *creatures*. But in the eternal going forth wherein they have flowed out, yet without being a self, they are there as of God, themselves God." "Give heed to this distinction between the going forth in eternity and that in time! In this wise have we also gone forth in time out of the overpoweringness of His love."

We also have gone forth in an *eternal* and in a *temporal* birth : in the former case, in our *prototype* which is suspended in the second Person of the Godhead ; and the latter case, as the *made creature*, endowed with that "which has name, which itself is created out of nothing." "All that is created is a Naught." To be sure, in a wider sense, our prototype also is itself a creature-like thing, namely, in so far as it also is based upon the "divine activity," in contradistinction to the genuine, divine *essence* in its breathless stillness, and its unreality, ineffectuality.

Because the soul has merely welled forth out of God, therefore is it also not *identical* with the Godhead. " If it—[the soul]—also sinks and sinks in the unity of the divine *essence*, yet can it never win to the bottom thereof."

Accordingly, the path of the soul's salvation is as follows :

a. First of all, the soul must "step out of" its "nature as a creature," *i. e.*, it must pass over *into the realm of Nothing Whatsoever.* In this condition it has stripped off all that is material in Eckhart's understanding of the word ; she has become *pure* mind, *pure* knowing. She is then "no longer in a condition to know herself as a creature and a natural thing." And because she no longer knows

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anything of all this, therefore in this condition she naturally also knows no more of a creator, and therewith also nothing more of *God*, by which Eckhart understands just the Godhead as a creative potency. "God no longer is for the mind." "The soul is also set upon no longer having any God". "And this is the greatest honour which the soul can do to God, that she leaves him to himself and stands emptied of Him." In fact she is filled by nothing, by absolutely nothing further whatever save by this one thought : "There is nothing any longer present for me." Be it well noted, also of her own *body* and its *powers* she knows nothing more. There has taken place "a 'disbecoming' of all What," "whereby I do not wish to say that this form of existence of the soul comes to nothing such as she was before she was created.....This coming to nothing holds good only of having and holding.....All here fails the soul, God and the creature...it must all be lost. The soul's existence must be upon a *free nothing*." She has "gone over," so that she now stands only in her pure indeterminateness, "and *knows singly and solely herself*—as God."

This knowledge, however, more in detail is as follows :

Since the soul in the condition of nothing whatsoever knows itself in "her pure indeterminateness," naturally with the limitation that she is mind, she cognises herself in this her pure formless mentality as standing outside the law of arising and passing away, which holds good, of course, only of the material part of her that now is stripped away : she is "rapt into eternity." This, however, is just that which for eternities has been suspended as *prototype* of the soul in the second divine Person. And precisely the consciousness of this flames up in her : she comprehends herself as *prototype*, and therewith at the same time comprehends the second Person of the Godhead, the "Son," "in which are suspended the prototypes of all creatures," there "shines upon her the uncreated prototype,—[here simply the "Son,"]—in which also she finds herself as an uncreated."

In this retreat upon the eternal prototype at the cost of giving up all "that has name" is also "entreated the death" : "this is that dying wherewith the soul dies into God." Such a man is "a deified man." "So much as to the first going out, wherein the soul has to go out from her nature as a creature."

b. "Then she has to go out from the nature which is hers in the eternal prototype" inasmuch as she "breaks through" to the "Father." That, however, takes place thus : The mind does not abide by the prototypes as of like nature with God. Rather does it become forth-

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with conscious that these prototypes at bottom are nothing else but the divine *essence* itself, in so far as this has passed over to the point of becoming the eternal primal source of things. In this determination, however, the divine essence is called *God the Father.* And so, then, the mind—precisely in its own prototype—forthwith recognises this Father as not only *like*, but as constituting with it, *one* essence. "And so to the mind, its eternal archetype also comes to nothing." "The soul...through this its archetype, breaks through into the essence, in so far as it *presents* itself in the *Father.*" This is the second death and the second going forth, whereby the soul goes forth out of the nature it has in the eternal archetype.

c. "The third nature out of which it has to go is the generative power of the divine nature which as creative, is presented in the Father;" that is to say, the soul has to surmount the determination, "*God the Father.*" That also is not difficult for her. For already "the prototype of the soul—beyond the Father—beholds without limitation the divinity residing within her, as she is free and empty of all activity, and thus gives at the same time an indication whither the soul shall again be conducted by her dying."

On this account "the soul's abiding is not even with the idea "God the Father," just because this idea also "does not yet contain the divine unity in its highest form." And so, "when the soul becomes aware that *every* determination makes the eternal archetype into something different, and loosed, from the unity, then "she dies her highest death," she "swings herself" "with the Father right over into the unity of the divine essence where God comprehends himself as something absolutely simple." "In this unity the Father has never been conscious of a Son nor the Son of a Father, for there is neither Father nor Son nor Holy Ghost." "In this *experience* is" "the mind" "one essence, one substance, with the Godhead, and is at the same time its own and all creatures' blessedness." "This mind is dead and buried in the Godhead; and the Godhead lives for none other save for itself. Ay, noble soul, put to the proof this splendour! verily, so long as thou dost not down thyself in this bottomless ocean of the Godhead, thou canst not come to know it, this *divine* death."

II

This, in its fundamental outlines, is Eckhart's system, almost exclusively set forth in his own words, since only so does the reader acquire the certainty that he really has Master Eckhart before him,

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and not the mere fantasies of a reporter about him. One would think that it only needs the reading of this exposition to understand without further words that even in this greatest of all western "mystics," there can, in *truth*, be no talk of mysticism in the modern sense of the word, the less so that at bottom he only depicts *the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever* of the Buddha's Teaching, and upon this basis proceeds to speculations concerning the basis of the world, the Godhead; and all the less so, that this Realm of Nothing Whatsoever has nothing at all to do with mysticism.[1] It is true that Master Eckhart himself speaks the language of mysticism. But this, is the language of the *theologian* Eckhart, who, as we have already sufficiently well seen, is absolutely inseparable from the *seer* Eckhart. It is, the language of the Christian Catholic theology, in which Eckhart too was so deeply submerged that he could not do other than speak the language of this theology: as a faithful Catholic, Eckhart wanted to behold God. When he thought he had found him with logical consistency, he also spoke the language in which a man in Catholic Orders speaks of union with God. To the extent, however, that it is not the specific language of Catholic theology, Eckhart, in his manner of expressing himself, coincides with the non-Christian mystics, more especially with the Brahmin mystics, in this, namely, in the doctrine of the All-One, even if they are mere *illusions* arising from a false *reflexion* upon "the Beheld," that is, the *immediately* known, to which Eckhart, like those other mystics, has fallen a prey. This judgment may be established at more length, as follows:

We have already learnt to recognise as the specific mark of all mysticism, a mode of cognition, in its whole manner completely different from normal cognition, an inner *light* which at a given point of time begins to shine forth, in contradistinction to the entirely inadequate "light of nature," wherein every-day cognition runs its course; and, as a consequence thereof, the impossibility of clothing what thus is cognised, in clear concepts and words.

1. As regards the first point, the utterances of Eckhart himself, already cited up to this point, have fairly well yielded this result, that he too owed the totality of all his knowledge only to the mental force present in us *all*, nay, that in principle is shared, in like manner,

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1 *Cf.* The Essay "Is the Doctrine of the Buddha, Science"? in the Maha Bodhi Journal, vol. xxxiv.

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by all living beings in general, save that, according to him, as also according to the Buddha, this mind, by strenuous labour, must be freed from all obstructing barriers. "Direct thy mind at all times towards a wholesome contemplation." "Yea, verily, *the mind becomes free* in its isolation, compels God to itself. And were it in a condition to stand there unshapen and void of any alien addition, it would rend God's very own nature to itself." "Hail, of a truth, to the noble mind that is come up into the rich, the *bare* knowing". According to Eckhart, however, the mind has "become free" and "void of any alien addition," then only when it "clings no longer to all that has name, nor this to it;" when it "is above time and space," that is, when it has wholly cut itself loose from that cognising activity that is directed *outwards* and comes about through the assistance of the five external senses which transmit mere "images," so that it resembles an uninscribed tablet, or the eye, which, only because it is itself colourless, is able to perceive colour. "If the eye is to perceive colour, then must it be stripped of all colour." Such a *purified* mind is in the proper condition to behold God. Nay, this God *must* then offer Himself to it. He "*must* in actuality come forth and pour Himself into thee, even as, when the air is clear and pure the sun must pour himself forth, and cannot in any wise withhold himself therefrom." Of course! For such a mind, which has also left behind the idea of space—and it has left it behind because it is "above time and space,"—then truly stands "*in a pure Naught,*" sees itself confronted with that "complete stillness and void," in which absolutely nothing more offers itself to it, more especially has its own body also disappeared from consciousness. "Then had the mind so withdrawn all its forces within itself, that to it the *body* had disappeared." Such a mind stands face to face with that "abyss," which conceals within itself the "freedom from all movement," "still stillness," "secret stillness of unity," "pure stillness," "immovable stillness," "still eternity," in which nothing more remains save a united "Is," the "unbeing being,' in short, *the Primordial Being*, and therewith "*the Godhead.*"

Thus there is in fact a perception beyond the five external senses, or, as Eckhart says, "independent of the soul-*forces,*" under which term he understands precisely the *external* senses, since according to him, pure—contemplating and reflecting—thinking is not at all a sense, but acts *immediately* in *the essence* of the *soul* without organs. Thus, there is in fact "a contemplation" free from "all images and forms," there is, in fact, an *intellectual* perception. But this too belongs,

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despite Eckhart, to *normal* perception, inasmuch as it is nothing more than the normal domain of the *purified*, that is, the concentrated, thinking sense. "And whoso, brother, has loosed himself from the five [external] senses, what can such an one cognise with the purified thought-cognition?"—"Whoso, brother, has loosed himself from the five senses, he can with the purified thought-cognition, in the idea of boundless space, cognise the Realm of Boundless Space, in the idea of the boundlessness, of consciousness, cognise the Realm of Boundless Consciousness, *in the idea*, "*There now is, nothing whatsoever, cognise the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever*" (Majjhima Nikāya, Discourse 43). And so thus the Buddha has also completely cleared up for us this concept of *intellectual perception* which our philosophers and psychologists, great and small, commonly do not know what to make of. This intellectual, entirely normal perception—normal, because constituting the perfectly natural domain of the purified organ of thought—has for its object "the sphere of the formless (*arūpa dhātu*)," that is, the just mentioned three realms, of which the two latter exactly represent what Eckhart always has in his eye.

2. On the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, the cognising subject first of all cognises all that is formed and manifold more especially his own body, as *not* belonging to him (*anattā*), since it has deliberately thrown off all that. On the other hand, it still cognises itself as *pure mind*. "This mentality, this cognition, *that* belongs to me, *that* am I, *that* is myself," thus it still speaks here. Therewith, this mentality itself melts away again into "pure indeterminateness," inasmuch as the determining, the individualising factor resides precisely in the corporeal organism, which, however, is now discarded. That this formless mentality also might be *inessential* to the cognising subject, that also might be a mere "addition," and hence, that it also, exactly like the body together with the phenomenal world conditioned by its five sense-organs, might be stripped off,—such an idea does *not* arise. In this unshapen mentality the knowing subject sees itself confronted with a "bottomless abyss" which opens up before it where formerly the phenomenal world had place, and which represents a "nameless Naught" which yet is not *the* Naught, an un-become Being, which latter, just on this account, is *the* Being. These two—pure mentality and this abyss—are the two elements of pure intellectual perception upon the heights of the realm of Nothing Whatsoever. Naturally in this perception also *the reason* must take a part, of which holds good the dictum: "The

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reason, the more powerful and the more subtle it is, in that measure what it cognises, is gathered together into unity and *becomes one with it.*" Nay, this reason, here where it is directed inward, becomes all the more active. "The subtler and more mental it is, all the more, and all the more powerfully, does it work inwardly." With this "*creative* reason" the cognising subject cognises that itself cannot be different from the *Primordial Being* as this has revealed itself in the bottomless abyss, because there is indeed only one Primordial Being. And so then the cognising subject, together with its mentality, flows into this bottomless abyss, thus flooding it, "the nameless Naught," with the splendour of its own indeterminate mentality. It only "beholds" still "the absolute one" "with the glance of unity," beholds it as *one* pure *mentality.* When it cognises with Indian-coloured reason, it beholds *the Brahman*; and when it cognises with Christian-coloured reason, it beholds *God* as Godhead,—concepts under which is conceived precisely the highest, the ultimate, the Primordial Being, yet not *absolutely,* not undetermined, but still affected with the determination of *mentality,* of cognition, thus, as a *rational* Being. "Because to the Brahman appertains cognition, as light to the sun, as a natural property, therefore does it need no organs for the same," teach the Brahmins. "God is reason, forasmuch as He alone lives to His own cognition," says Master Eckhart. Into this rational Primordial Being, into this Brahman, into this *God*, the cognising subject melts, the mind melts, *I* melts. "Who knows such, he is without desire, free from desire, of stilled desire, himself his desire....For *Brahman is he, and into Brahman does he dissolve,*" exults the Brahmin; while Master Eckhart exclaims: "Sink thou from all that any wise is *thou*! Flow wholly into *His* essence's rest! What only is for itself, there *He*, here *thou*, now closes together into one *we*, where thou, now *He*, cognises Him with eternal sense: a nameless Naught, an un-become 'Am.' "

But despite the majestic peace, of the "Tat tvam asi" which speaks out of the Upaniṣads, despite the overflowing rapture on account of the "overmastering super-miracle" of the "pure uniformity of essence which is the essence of all essences," which ever and again overpowers Master Eckhart, none the less, in the light of the Buddha's doctrine this rational Primordial Being, this Brahman, this Godhead, and along with it, also the union with this Brahman, with this Godhead, in short, also the *unio mystica*, proves itself to be *a pure illusion.*

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As we already sufficiently know,[1] our *true* essence, and therewith also the realm of essences, the Nirvāṇa-sphere, the Primordial Being, is absolutely free from *all* determinations, and thus also free from the determination of mentality, or of cognition, or of rationality. This mentality also is only an *inessential* determination of us, is only linked up with us by way of conditioning. "In manifold wise, brother Sāti, was the conditioned nature of cognition made known by the Sublime One. Without sufficient ground arises no cognition....Upon whatsoever ground, ye monks, cognition arises, precisely through that, and only through that, does it come about. Through the eye and forms arises cognition, comes about precisely eye-cognition; through the ear and sounds arises cognition, comes about precisely ear-cognition....Through thinking and ideas,arises cognition, comes about precisely thought-cognition."[2] That is to say: Cognition is a product of the six-fold activity of the senses; and therewith presupposes sense-organs, and therewith a corporeal organism, even if this ultimately evaporates at the higher stages of existence, especially at the stage of Nothing Whatsoever, into a thinking organ consisting of mere radiant matter. "A corporeal organism is the cause that the group of cognition can appear."[3] "His *cognition* which one might have in view when speaking of him, is done away, is annulled from the very foundation,...and a Perfect one is raised above all comprehensibility by means of the form of apprehending that we call *cognition*. He is [absolutely] undefinable, indeterminable, unfathomable like the great ocean," it is accordingly also said of a deceased Holy One. The Buddha very well knew why he thus specially emphasised also this freedom of a completely Delivered One from cognition in every form. For he knew very well the standpoint of the Upaniṣads, and in it also the standpoint of Master Eckhart and of all "mystics" in general, as is shown by his succeeding utterance which is quite specially directed against this last and most subtle aberration of the human mind. "It is a question of a case where a Samana or a Brāhmaṇa may simply rely upon logic and pondering. In such a one, then, it may well be that upon the ground of logic and pondering, the thought may arise to which he lends these words: 'What is called eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, that is the transient, the impermanent,

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1 *Cf.* "The Doctrine of the Buddha, the Religion of Reason" by George Grimm, published by the Offizin W. Drugulin, Leipzig.

2 Majjhima Nikāya, 38th Discourse. 3 Dīgha Nikāya 1. 2, 13

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non-eternal self, subject to change. But what is called mind, thinking, cognition, that is the intransient, the permanent, eternal self, not subject to change."[1]

Had not Eckhart let himself be led astray through the circumstance that upon the heights reached by him, he found himself pure mind, and for the rest, betrayed by the teaching of his Church into drawing the over-hasty *conclusion*, that he now *essentially* was pure mind, and so, in his reflexion outrunning his perception, which latter merely indicated to him the fact that in any case, also at this stage, he was still subject to cognition, but not that one could not also strip off this property of cognition,—if Eckhart had not done this, then he certainly also would not have endowed the Primordial Being itself with the predicate of pure mentality, but, along with the Buddha, would have cognised himself, and with himself, also this Primordial Being, as *absolutely* void of determinations, and therewith, as *wholly and entirely* unknowable. With this, however, then there would have been no more room whatever for attributing to the "non-being" Primordial Being even the mere predicate *of unity*, since this concept also, like every concept in general, is abstracted from experience, thus, may be applied only for so long, and in so far, as stood in question any element whatever of perception, were it no more than *intellectual* perception, and were this element no more than pure mentality. Then, in truth, that "pure indeterminateness" would be left of which Eckhart speaks, although with him this concept does not possess unconditioned validity, since with him this "pure indeterminateness" is only just one *of the mind*. With this, however, he no longer could have come at the idea of a flowing into the divine *unity*, or *of a union* with it, of the *unio mystica*, just because here there is no longer a something into which one could flow, nay, because here, there is not even any longer room for the concepts of flowing, of union, themselves, since these concepts also are drawn from the realm of the *cognisible*, and therefore possess validity only for this realm. And so it turns out that the *unio mystica* is in fact a mere illusion, having its rise in the delusion tnat the genuine essence of man and the world consists in pure mentality. Had Eckhart known that the predicate of mentality also does not apply to our essence, he would have been obliged to look round for some other expression than this "*unio mystica*" whereby to indicate our return

1 Dīgha Nikāya, I, 2, 13.

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to the primal state. In such a search, if in this manner it became clear to him that this our primal state, and with it, *the Primordial Essence* is *absolutely* indeterminate, and therefore also that absolutely *no* positive concept applies to it, he then unquestionably with the Buddha would have hit upon the idea of making clear this primal condition and the return to it by an allusion to *fire*, which *in going out* is not annihilated but merely returns to its absolutely incognisible primal state, as, for the rest, the Upaniṣads already have recognised: "Just as fire, *void of fuel*, comes to rest *in its place*."—"Brahman by his nature is...comparable to fire *after it has devoured the fuel*."[1] Eckhart, too, would then no longer have spoken of a "*unio mystica*"—no one will speak of the extinction of a fire as a *unio mystica*, because there is absolutely *nothing* present for cognition *with which* such a union could take place—but with the Buddha he would simply have said: The Holy One does as does the "home-going" fire, he *goes out*, goes out into the state (*āyatanam*) "of the departed Awakened Ones, of those removed from the phenomenal world (*papañca*)". This is as sure as that Eckhart, with the Buddha and, for the rest, also with the Masters of the Upaniṣads—and precisely herein is revealed the full depth of his insight—penetrated this going out of the fire, not, as our more than shallow, namely, superficial, naturalistic thinkers understand it, as annihilation, but just as the going home into its primal state in the realm of essences:—"There where is the earthly fire in its true nature, there it burns and hurts not. The heat that streams forth from the fire, it alone burns here below. Yet, where the heat is still enclosed in the nature of the fire, there it does not burn and is harmless. And yet there also, where it is still enclosed in the fire, it stands as far removed from the true nature of fire, as heaven from earth."

Thus, then, the *unio mystica* is a product of over-hasty "logical deduction and pondering" based upon imperfect perception. And because it is this, and because the contemplator himself is also very well aware of all this, more especially, of the defective perception, even if only obscurely, *therefore* then he must naturally also speak an obscure language, must just speak a *mystical* speech. The contemplator feels very well that "here one mounts to a higher form of knowing." "Even if it is called an unknowing, a non-cognising,

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1 Śvetāśvatara Up., 6, 19; Maitrāyaṇī Up., 6,34; Nṛsiṃhaottaratāpnīya Up., 2.

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yet has it more within itself than all knowing and cognising outside it." Yea, already he distinctly hears "the eternal voice" calling. "Could I but grasp it, I should know all truth." But on the other hand, all still remains in a half-light, since one does not get over "a half-knowing, half-unknowing." "It opened out and shone before me that it would fain reveal somewhat to me, and gave me to know of God—[of the Nirvāṇa-sphere]—for which cause it is called a Word. But it was hidden from *what* it was. Therefore is it said: In a whisper, a stillness, it came, in order to reveal itself." "She [the soul] well feels *that* it is, but knows not *how* and *what* it is." "It appeared, and yet was concealed." "I well feel *that* it is something; but *what* it is, *this I cannot grasp.*" "But what is that, this darkness? How is it called? What is its name? One can only call it a *possibility* and *susceptibility*, which yet is not lacking of actuality, which has for content only, 'that thou becomest perfect.'" "Then she [the soul] tasted where yet was nothing: over all that may be perceived hovers one and the same dark unity." "What there she hears is without sound, for it is an inward perception, and takes place in an original feeling." "This seeing is an undetermined dark being aware in the Naught." "In the grey of the night vision he cometh and whispereth men in the ear. And the whispering goeth upon the flowing into unity, where the known and the knower are one." Do these words mean that the contemplator has indeed clearly known something, and only fails to find words in which to impart it? Or do they not rather obviously attest *that the cognition itself is a defective one?* And because, thus, Eckhart, instead of wrestling his way through to the all-penetration, and therewith, the radiant clarity, of a Buddha, remains held in a mere "feeling," in a mere "undetermined, dark being aware," in a mere "whispering," just in a mere "half-knowing, half-unknowing," therefore also is the total picture of his seeing not free from false appearance and error, that is, it is not free from the appearance of *mentality*, in which, with him, the Primordial Essence, like a far, primeval range of mountains, seems still enfolded in the light of the setting sun. And it is not free from the error of *unity*: there, there is as little unity as there is difference.[1] And so then, also the incomparable enthusiasm of Eckhart over the streamiug "into all the eternity of the Godhead, where, in the eternal stream, God flows into God," is truly a powerful symphony about the realm of essences,

1 *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, p. 519, n.

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the Nirvāṇa-sphere—*paramattha-sāro Nibbānaṃ*—but even still, only a symphony that for a great part is a *fantasy*. But still more powerful than this powerful symphony is the unconditioned *silence* of the Buddha about the Nibbāna-sphere, for it is itself—silence.[1]

3. If up to this point we have seen Master Eckhart stand upon the heights of the Upaniṣads as an equal with their ancient Masters, now when we have to consider the influence which his Christian Catholic faith had upon him, we must take a considerable step downward. As we already know, for Eckhart the axioms of Catholic dogma stood still more firmly established than his own direct cognitions. Precisely on this account, for him it stood firmly established, without anything further, that in the highest good which he had found, he also had come into contact with the Christian God. This Christian God, however, imparts Himself—when he does impart Himself—only *out of Grace* on His part. And just on this account, Eckhart was obliged to find a place in his system also for this concept of Grace. And that was quite easy. As we have already learnt, Grace is "a light which streams out of God's nature directly into the soul." It is thus synonymous with the "divine light" of which Eckhart so frequently speaks, as of a "far higher light," in contradistinction to the "natural light" of the every-day reason, which is exclusively directed outward. This, however, means: the cognition of an object always depends upon the object to be cognised *showing* itself to us, thus, to this extent, in a decisive manner, depends upon the object itself. If now this object is a rational being which, by its own resolve, enters into the domain of our cognition, then one speaks of its *Grace*. Now according to Eckhart, the divine light itself advances to meet the mind in the "void Naught," with which, as sole object, the mind sees itself confronted upon the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever. Thus, precisely in this light is the Grace of the Godhead manifest.

Because the object of cognition upon the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever is the divine light itself, precisely on this account *must* this light show itself, and in it, the Godhead itself, if only one has brought the mind into the condition which raises it into the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, as we have already likewise

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1 For the rest, Eckhart did not arrive at his world-picture solely of himself; it is based upon Dionysius Areopagitica whom he also frequently quotes; and through him, upon the great Neo-Platonist, Plotinus.

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seen. "If man makes himself completely idle, then God himself *must* carry through the work, *must* himself be the foreman, and *reveal himself*!" Does it not leap into sight that what lies at the foundation of these utterances is simply hypostasis, that is, simply the deification of *the object* of cognition upon the heights of the Nothing Whatsoever?

4. Grace and divine light are Christian concepts, but still, not exclusively Christian. They are also to be found outside Christendom. In particular, the lower science of Vedānta recognises the conception of Grace. Quite specifically Christian, however, is the concept of *the Trinity*, of the Three-in-One. Thereby this concept is at the same time entirely transcendent, lies beyond all possible experience, since it supports itself *exclusively* upon alleged divine revelation. Precisely on this account where he comes to an understanding with it—and this, of course, he must do very often and very thoroughly, since the Trinity constitutes the pivot of Catholic dogma—Eckhart is a *pure theologian*. He constructs "a One-Being in essence, with a trinity of persons," and "the further, divine self-completion," although the Godhead there "dwells above all essence," thus, beyond all possible experience, exclusively on the ground of certain passages in the Bible, with an assurance such as only can be lent by the unshakeable faith of a good Catholic in the "divine word" itself contained in the Bible. Of course Eckhart, in this construction, the results of which have been summarised in the first part of this essay, has been very considerably influenced—as moreover, is quite comprehensible in itself—by the outcome of his own inner life, that is, by the world-picture which he shaped for himself on the basis of his own immediate experience during his sojourn in the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever. And so then there results a motley mixture of deepest ideas and cognitions, and of fantastic transcendental speculations, full of obscurities, of inward contradictions and inadequacies.

And because Eckhart did not remain a pure theologian, towards the close of his life he also came into conflict with his Church, and only through his death escaped the prosecution that would have followed. *In Master Eckhart, the seer had simply spoiled the theologian.* He undertook to place theology upon a higher, and thereby upon a more solid, basis than the normal sense-world can furnish it, by placing it upon the basis of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, in which the eternal, and thereby the genuine, divine stood out in its *peaceful* blessedness much, much more unveiled than in the world

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of sensuous pleasures. Precisely on this account, however, Eckhart, for the normal theological brain, which is entirely swallowed up in the sense-world, had become naturally incomprehensible, and thereby, suspect, nay, a heretic. For the Catholic Church Master Eckhart was, and is, *too great* !

In Master Eckhart, however, the theologian has also spoiled the seer. The whole of Christian theology, especially the whole doctrine of the Trinity, in itself has nothing in the least to do with the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, also nothing to do with the classification of the world, further constructed through *reflextion*, in interpretation of this realm. Above all it has nothing to do with the classification of the human soul into the "law of life of divinity," as can clearly be perceived in the Veda which, from the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, has passed *immediately* to the construction of its one, undifferentiated Brahman, thus, *without* the intermediate link of the three divine Persons. Hence before Eckhart, in his *reflexion*, pressed forward to the unity of the Brahman, or, as he calls it, of the Godhead wherein the whole world lies enclosed, yet without its being swallowed up in the world,[1] it was urgently necessary for him first to settle in his mind with these three Persons of the Trinity, also with the archetype of his soul which had to furnish the connecting bridge with the second Person of the Godhead, and thereby, with this Godhead itself. One can hardly refrain from a touch of humour when one follows up the downright childishly naive manner in which he discharges this task. He simply *dismisses* from his mind, one after another, the idea, "archetype," then, with it, the idea, "God the Son," and lastly, also the idea, "God the Father," by "swinging himself out over" with this God the Father, into the unity of the divine essence, exactly as the disciple of the Buddha "dismisses the idea, 'village,' the idea, 'earth,' the idea, 'boundless sphere of space,' " and so on, in order finally to press on to the concentration of the mind without perception of an object.[2] This thus means that Eckhart simply dismisses again, one after another, out of his mind, the images of fantasy which the Catholic theology had implanted in this mind; and then is highly rejoiced, nay, overflows with rapture, at the miracle that the archetype

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1 This Pan-en-theism, not Pantheism, the Upaniṣads also teach, of course. "Only one-fourth of Brahma is incarnated in the world; three-fourths remain free from it, as blessed Brahma."

2 *Cf.* Majjhima Nikāya, 121st Discourse.

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and the divine Persons are completely swallowed up in the unity of the divine essence! In a word: Eckhart's path of salvation for the greater part is the path of salvation *of the Catholic theologian*. It is the path on which a believing Catholic, in pressing on to the truth, can keep on good terms with the dogmas of his Church without coming into conflict with his conscience! Hence then one can eliminate this entire theological part from Eckhart's doctrinal structure—and it is a *very* large part, well the larger part of it—one can also, in the foregoing, strike out the exposition of this doctrinal structure given under the number 14, without in any way exposing the building itself to danger of falling. The whole of this theological section represents nothing more than the scrolls which, in the eyes of a good Catholic, the structure must bear if it is to be beautiful, nay, if it is only to be at all solid. The *fundamental experience* of Eckhart is nothing more than the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever; and the doctrinal structure erected upon this experience by means *of reflexion* is nothing more *in itself* than the ancient Indian Upaniṣads' doctrine of the unity of Brahman as the Primordial Being, with the Ātman, our deepest essence, in which Upaniṣad-doctrine Īśvara, the personal God, likewise is swallowed up by the Turīya, the abyss of one's own *I* (*ātman*). Nay, this harmony of Eckhart's system with this Upaniṣad-doctrine is so great, that a Buddhist who is really in earnest about the Doctrine of the Buddha, in looking upon the entire traffic of the world, also *practically*, in its light, and in face of the further consideration of how tremendously difficult it must be for a mind teeming with Christian ideas to raise itself to the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever,—such a Buddhist cannot help having the idea that in Master Eckhart was re-born an "ancient master of the Three Vedas" who found his way right through all the mazes of Christian Catholic dogma, back again into his "*Tat tvam asi*, That thou art," which of old made him so happy.

And certainly it brings happiness, *this* doctrine of identity. It includes in itself all the happiness, all the "blessed rest" which elevation into the sphere of Nothing Whatsoever brings with it. "What there is of enjoyment of the senses of this world, what there is of enjoyment of the senses of the world beyond, what there is of sense-perception in this world and what there is of sense-perception in the world beyond, what there is of forms of this world, and what there is of forms of the world beyond, what there is of perception of forms of this world, and what there is of perception of forms of the world beyond...it is

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all perception. Where this wholly and entirely disappears, that is the peaceful, that is the high exalted, *that Realm of Nothing Whatsoever.*"[1]

The sojourn in this Realm of Nothing Whatsoever makes a man so happy, so blessed, that one willingly renounces the enjoyments of the sense-world, nay, in their presence one shudders at the thought that whoever wishes them, must forego that other happiness. And so then the whole *practical morality* which Eckhart teaches is tuned to this key: Of *this* world, only what is absolutely necessary, no more, in order to press on to the other! "Wilt thou know what is right requirement?" "Yea." "It is a spring, and bread, and a coat: this is right bodily requirement."

But all the same, also this happiness of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever is not yet the highest, is not yet the *eternal* happiness, for it also is transient, because also the mind with which one enters this sphere and enjoys it, again must be dissolved. And so then, Master Eckhart also had not fully overcome ignorance; he was *not* a Perfected One. For such a thing he was *too small*! Also of Eckhart holds good the saying:" It well may be Sunakhatta, that some monk or other may think within himself, 'Ignorance is the poisonous salve; this poisonous salve have I got rid of.' *Thus does he imagine imaginary well-being.*"[2] Precisely on this account, Eckhart did not even know of the cycle of re-births[3]; let us find out the real cause of suffering, that thirst with which we are filled for the phenomenon of life, which thus must first be rooted out, stalk and stump, in order that we may be able to take possession of the *real*, highest, eternal blessedness,—and indeed, must be rooted out in *all* its forms, also in its form as thirst for a life in pure mentality. *This* thirst, however, Eckhart had so little overcome, that on the contrary he taught and praised precisely eternal *life* in this form of pure mentality in the Godhead, as the very highest. "In God now the soul receives a new *life*: here the soul is resurrected out of death into *the life* of the Godhead." Thus, above and beyond life, Eckhart also knew of nothing higher whatsoever.

And so then, for him who would dare the *highest* path, Eckhart needs come under no further consideration. Such an one must rather adopt toward Eckhart the same attitude which the Buddha before

1 Majjhima Nikāya, 106th Discourse.

2 Majjhima Nikāya, 105th Discourse.

3 Brahmanism also allows this to hold good only *allegorically*, only *mythically*!

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his Awakening adopted towards Ālāra Kālāma, who also set forth the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever.—This doctrine does not lead to turning away, to the abrogation of willing, to the dissolution of causality, to perfect penetration, to *Full* Awakening, to Nirvāṇa, but only to attainment to the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever. And so, ye monks, dissatisfied with this dectrine, I took my departure content therewith no longer."[1] Nevertheless Eckhart was a great mind, a great mind even in the eyes of a Perfect Buddha. "A great mind was Ālāra Kālāma. Had he known of the Doctrine, very soon would he have comprehended it." And as such a great mind, therefore, does a Buddhist also esteem and honour Master Eckhart!

The consideration of Eckhart's system, however, yields us this as the genuine character of mysticism: all so-called mysticism is nothing further than a more or less close approach to the Nirvāṇa-sphere, that is, to a thoroughly *immaterial* state beyond all *life* in any form whatsoever, possible to us after the stripping from us of all knowable constituents. And because all mysticism is only such a mere *approach* to this already in itself unparalleled state, without its ever being reached, hence the vagueness, nay, the defectiveness, of its knowledge, hence even the specific "mystical" obscurity, hence further all the speculation also, or more correctly, the simple romancing, of the "mystics," in which they carry over their received theology into the new land spied in the further distance. Ever do they bring tidings from this land. Hence then, despite all their lack of clarity, do the hearts of the more deeply disposed fly to them. Then only do they no longer fly to them when the Doctrine of a *Fully* Awakened One, of a *Buddha*, comes within their field of vision. For such an one really trodden "the untrodden land" of the still eternity, and therewith, of changeless, peaceful blessedness has himself landed there, and therefore brings from it perfectly clear, yea, radiant tidings thereof. Then has all mysticism fulfilled its time; then have all mystics fulfilled their mission. "The glow-worm shines so long as the light-bringer has not arisen. When, however, the sun is up, then is past, and it shines no longer[2] the brightness of the glow-worm.

GEORGE GRIMM

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1 Majjhima Nikāya, 26th Discourse.

2 Udāna VI, 10.

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Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā

Ceylon is popularly believed to be the home of the Rākṣasas of the Rāmāyaṇa. Sirdar M. Kibe has been trying, by adducing evidences from the Rāmāyaṇa, to locate it in Central India. In his article published in the Modern Review, 1914, he traced it to a hill near the Pendra station on the B. N. Ry., north-west of Bilaspur. His subsequent researches perhaps have led him to change it to Amarakaṇṭaka. He expounded this theory in his papers read in the 1st and 3rd sessions of the Oriental Conference held at Poona and Madras respectively. His arguments were all supported from the epic itself, and also by ethnographical and geographical evidences still to be found in the Central Indian hills.

But in the I. H. Q., vol. ii, pp. 345-50, Mr. V. H. Vader expounds a theory that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was situated on the equator. His arguments, supported by extracts from Sanskrit literature, to show that Laṅkā was quite distinct from Ceylon, are otherwise convincing, but do not prove what he says regarding its location.

He cites Vāyu Purāṇa in support of his conclusion and says (I.H.Q., vol. ii, p. 348): "In the Vāyu Purāṇa (Bhuvanavinyāsa, ch. 48), the author describes the six isles round about Jambu Dvīpa, as follows: (i) Aṅga Dvīpa, (ii) Yava Dvīpa, (iii) Malaya Dvīpa, (iv) Kuśa Dvīpa (v) Śaṅkha Dvīpa and(vi) Varāha Dvīpa. The third in the above list, viz., Malaya Dvīpa is further described in verses 20-30 of the same chapter. It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas. There is a great mountain named Malaya containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva or Amāvasyā day. The famous Trikūṭa mountain is also situated on this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several beautiful valleys and summits. The great city called Laṅkā is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain. Its length is hundred Yojanas while its breadth is 30 Yojanas. To the east of this island lies a great Śiva temple in a holy place called Gokarṇa."

He asserts that this Malaya Dvīpa is the present Maldives in the Indian Ocean. But what about the Śiva temple to the east of these Maldives? Is the mountain there called Malaya? Are there

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any gold and silver mines in them? Without giving reasons he says: "this is fully corroborated and supported by the description of the situation of Laṅkā as given by the great astronomer and mathematician, Bhāskarācārya." He quotes the following:

Laṅkā kumadhye yamakoṭir asyāḥ prāk paścime romakapaṭṭaṇañca/
Adhas tataḥ siddhapuraṃ suṃeruḥ saumye'tha yāme baḍavānalaś ca//

In his opinion this "verse means that Laṅkā is on or about the equator. At least such was the firm belief of Bhāskarācārya." But nowhere in the Rāmāyaṇa it is said that Rāvaṇa's town was situated in the middle of the earth. With regard to this astronomical Laṅkā the late Diwan Bahadur Swami Kannu Pillai says in his Indian Chronology as follows: "Now, as the moment of Sunrise depends on the latitude and longitude of each place, there should, strictly speaking, be as many 'pañcāṅgas' as there are places in India. Indian astronomers get over this difficulty by calculating time in the first place according to one central latitude and longitude, and then applying the necessary corrections in order to deduce the time for other places. The central latitude is the equator, and the central longitude is that of Ujjain (75° 46″ East of Greenwich) where there was an ancient observatory. To combine the central latitude and the central longitude, they imagined an island, Laṅkā, in the Indian ocean, situated on the equator and having the same latitude as Ujjain. This Laṅkā is, of course, not Ceylon." It can neither be in the Maldives; for the astronomical Laṅkā is said in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi to be on the same meridian as Ujjain:

Yal laṅkojjayinī puropari kurukṣetrādideśān spṛśan/
Sūtraṃ merugataṃ budhair nigaditā sā madhyarekhā bhuvaḥ//

As the Maldives lie between 72° and 74° E. long., the *rekhā* over any place in them cannot pass through Ujjain and the poles. In whatever way we consider, the identification of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā with Maldives does not stand.

As a last support, Mr. Vader quotes from the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā, 41, 15-18) the directions given by Sugrīva to the Vānaras that were deputed to seek Sītā in the Southern quarter. "Sugrīva, the all-India-traveller *par excellence*, while mentioning the geographical details to the south of the Kāveri says that, after crossing the Mahānadī Tāmraparṇī, which embraces the ocean as a young maiden, the Gate of Pāṇḍya Deśa (Kavāṭam Paṇḍyānām) is to be reached and also the sea-coast. The sea will have to be crossed over." But when Rāma first asked, this "all-India-traveller *par excellence*" to tell him about the abode of Rāvaṇa, he replies that he does

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not know it (Kiṣkindhā, 7, 2). The commentators try to justify this by saying that Sugrīva said so because he was intelligent enough to see that Rāma would not help him if he had given the information. Even if we may agree to accept this justification, no reason can be offered for the following fact which clearly proves that Sugrīva knew nothing of the geography of the south. When Lakṣmaṇa went to Kiṣkindhā to chide its king for his lethargy, Tārā told him about the strength and defences of Rāvaṇa which information she gathered from Bālin (Kiṣkindhā, 35, 18). Had Sugrīva been aware of everything regarding Rāvaṇa, Tārā would have told Lakṣmaṇa that she had the information from Sugrīva himself. Had Sugrīva really known that Rāvaṇa's abode lay in the southern direction, he would not have sent searching parties to all the four quarters. Further his geographical knowledge does not seem to have been verified by those who had actually travelled in the southern direction. Sugrīva, while giving a description of the southern countries (Kiṣkindhā, 41, 8ff.), mentioned the Vindhyas with thousand peaks immediately to the south of the place where he sat, and the river Narmadā to the south of it; further south lay the Gate of the Pāṇḍya country, then the sea with the Mahendra mountain on its shores; beyond the sea, on the other side, was a dvīpa. He did not call this dvīpa Laṅkā but said that it was the country of Rāvaṇa. But it should be noted that none of the rivers, hills, islands or towns spoken of by Sugrīva was observed between the Vindhya mountains and Laṅkā by those that actually travelled in that direction.

The Vānaras led by Aṅgada and Hanūmāna proceeded southwards from Kiṣkindhā and entered the Vindhyas (ibid, 48, 2). They entered a cave there and then coming out of it reached the shore of the ocean (ibid., 53, 12). The surging ocean unexpectedly brought their path to an end and they sat helpless at the foot of the Vindhya mountains (ibid., 53, 16).

Sampāti, an inhabitant of that part of the Vidhyas, told them about Rāvaṇa and his abode. He even pointed to Laṅkā from that spot and the Vānaras might even have seen it. Hanūmāna flew to it, saw everything there and came back flying. Every object that the Vānaras had seen in their search in the Vindhya mountains is mentioned, but nothing is said of the river Narmadā that lies immediately to the south of the Vindhyas. Had this river been crossed, it would have been certainly mentioned.

The return journey from Laṅkā is described by Rāma to Sītā :

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Divinely planned
And built by Viśvakarmā's hand,
Laṅkā, the lovely city rest
Enthroned on Mount Trikūṭa's crest. (Griffith)

As they were flying in the Puṣpaka Vimāna, they had a bird's eye view of the city of Laṅkā. It may be noted that attention of Sītā to the insular nature of the city is not drawn. Rāma showed the battle-field where both Vānaras and Rākṣasas lay dead, where Rāvaṇa fought and fell and where Mandodarī sat and bemoaned the death of her husband. Then Sītā was shown the shore of the sea on the side of Laṅkā where Rāma and the Vānara host slept after the sea had been crossed. The sea, the causeway built across it, the place where the sea-god had appeared before Rāma and the place where Vibhīṣaṇa had sought the protection of Rāma, were all shown. Then was shown Kiṣkindhā (Yuddha, canto 126, 24).

So between the sea-shore and Kiṣkindhā, Rāma had not had any opportunity of observing anything, for he led the Vānara host over the mountains avoiding, towns, hamlets and other human habitations (ibid., canto 4, 39). This was the reason why Rāma could not even show a single object between the sea-shore and the city of Sugrīva. From the accounts of these two journeys, one from Kiṣkindhā to Laṅkā and the other from Laṅkā to Kiṣkindhā, we see that even the river Narmadā is not mentioned. Thus it is assumed that Laṅkā lay to the north of the Narmadā valley.

The Vānara army is said to have observed, in their march, that the rivers were flowing in an unnatural way (ibid., śloka 60). This happened when the Vānaras went along that ridge which the modern geographers call the water parting. So, from Kiṣkindhā Vānara army marched along the top of the mountains that separated the rivers flowing northwards from those that flowed southwards, and at last they reached the Mahendra mountain from the top of which they viewed the sea. This Mahendra cannot either be the famous hill of the same name in Kaliṅga nor the one said to be on the Indian coast opposite Ceylon.

Both in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira, Laṅkā is mentioned associated with Kāliñjar, a fort in Bundel-Khand :—

Laṅkā kālājināś caiva śailikā nikaṭās tathā/ (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa)
Atha dakṣiṇena laṅkā kālajinasaurahkārṇatālikaṭāḥ// (Bṛhat J.)

From all these it is clear that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was not far off from the southern ridge of the Vindhya mountains.

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Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Laṅkā was situated on the top of the Trikūṭa mountain which according to the Vāyupurāṇa was in the Malaya-dvīpa. It is said that the chief mountain in this land was called Malaya. Matsya, Kūrma and Viṣṇu Purānas say that Krūṭamalā, Tāmraparṇī, Puṣpajā, Puṇyavatī and Utpalāvatī are the rivers that rise on the Malaya mountain. Of these Tāmraparṇī and Utpalāvatī[1] are even to-day the rivers that flow through Orissa. The Malaya mountains are those that lie to the west of Orissa and the mountains of Ganjam and Vizagapatam are well-known by that name.[2] The highland which lies within the Mahānadī, Wainganga and the Godāvarī is named Malayadvīpa[3] in the Vāyupurāna. To the east of these hills lies a holy place called Gokarṇa. This Gokarṇa is the Mahendra mountain in Ganjam upon which still exists the great temple of Śiva. In ancient Kaliṅga copper-plate grants we often read *mahendrācalapratiṣṭhitasya gokarṇasvāminah*. Here among these hill tracts are found a variety of aboriginal tribes who are mentioned as Mlecchas in the Purāṇas. In the beds of many a river that flow through these hills gold sand exists which is a proof for the existence of gold mines in the valleys through which these rivers flow. In this region must Trikūṭā be located.

In the 5th Adhyāya of Revākhaṇḍa, a part of Avantikhaṇḍa of Skandapurāṇa, Narmadā is also spoken of by the name of Trikūṭī. Yudhiṣṭhira asks Mārkaṇḍeya why the river was called Trikūṭā :

kimarthaṃ narmadā proktā reveti ca kathaṃ smṛtā/
trikūṭeti kimarthaṃ vā kimarthaṃ bāluvāhinī//

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1 Utkalāvatī is only a corruption of Utpalāvatī. In Rāmāyaṇa Tāmraparṇī is called Mahānadī Tāmraparṇī.

2 Ganjam maliahs and Vizagapatam maliahs—Maliah is a corruption of Malaya. 'Malai' means 'a hill' in the Dravidian languages. The Eastern Ghats north of the Godavari Valley are called the Malaya mountains.

3 The word Dvīpa is misleading. It is generally understood to mean an island. But it appears to mean a land division. In Matsya, Kūrma and Viṣṇu Purānas, Bhāratadvīpa is said to be one of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa. In Vāyupurāṇa Aṅgadvīpa is mentioned as one of the Upadvīpas. Aṅga is the name of a part of India around Bhagalpur. So it cannot mean an island. Again, Upadvīpas mean subdivisions and do not mean the islands near by.

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In reply to this, the sage says (ibid., 6, 16f.), that because the river flows out of a mountain that has three peaks so is it called Trikūṭā; Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 185, 11f.) tells us that this Narmadā rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka. It is this Amarakaṇṭaka that is spoken of as the Trikūṭa in the Révākhaṇḍa. It is the biggest mountain (3493ft.) in the Malaya hills; Laṅkā is said in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Vāyu Purāṇa to have been built on it. The existence of holy bathing places (tīrthas) after the name of Indrajit and Rāvaṇa, so far unknown to exist in any other part of India, is another evidence to prove that this was the site of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā (Matsya, ch. 189, 3; ch. 190, 29). Above all, the very name Amarakaṇṭaka, a synonym for Devakaṇṭaka, an appellation of Rāvaṇa (Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddha, canto 127, 14), confirms the truth.

But in spite of all these evidences, one may uot be satisfied at the absence of a sea or its signs around this Amarakaṇṭaka. Geological evidences there are none to show that a sea did exist here in ancient days. Yet the region in which this hill is situated is such that during the rainy season, it becomes water-clogged. "But between the hills ..... the soil is undermined by flood in the rainy season, and broken into innumerable holes and pitfalls, the surface water during the rains usually finding a readier method of drainage straight through the friable soil than by collecting in rivulets and streams, and finally making its way to the rivers" (Holdich's India, pp. 151-152). A sheet of water collected in pits and holes, if large enough, is known by the name of sāgara throughout India. Sirdar Kibe says that this has been the custom from ancient times. It may be one of such sāgaras that has been spoken of in the epic.

Ethnological evidences confirm the fact that in the neighbourhood of Amarakaṇṭaka was the home of the Asuras, a class to which Rāvaṇa asura belonged. "Colonel Dalton connects these Asuras (a non-Aryan Tribe of Chota Nagpur) with the Asuras who, according to Munda tradition, were destroyed by Singbonga (the sun). They believe in a god whom they identify with Singbonga," (Ling. Sur. of India, vol. iv).

As Vibhīṣaṇa, who was made the head of the Asuras, considered the kings of the Solar race as protectors, the modern Asuras consider the sun to be their god.

The Śavaras whom I identified with the Vānaras of the Rāmāyaṇa (Aboriginal Names in Rāmāyaṇa *JBORS.*, March, 1925; and Aboriginal Tribes in Rāmāyaṇa, *Man in India*, March-June, 1925) are found in the Saugor district, and Śavara mountains are found

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in the Shahabad district of Central India. The 'Oraon' identified by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy with the Vānaras are found to the east of Bilaspur district of Chota Nagpur.

The Narmadā finds, such as Hacketts, Bhutra, Boucher, and a new locality for copper in the Narmada valley, are proofs of human habitation in the Narmadā region during pre-historic times. I may quote here a passage from the "Pre-historic India" of Dr. Panchanan Mitra determining the age of these finds.

"The change which has taken place in the Indian fauna since the period of the Nerbudda gravels consists in a substitution of animals with Malaya affinities for animals with European or African affinities ..... Dr. Falconer invariably spoke of those fauna as Pliocene as being a development of the Siwalik fauna in many respects and intermediate between them and our times. Though his opinion in question relating to the determination of vertibrate fossils, especially of India, is unassailable, his word "pliocene" has been the cause of much contention. Some would allow even 400,000 years or more when these bits were manufactured. But a few thousand years are of little account in the earliest palæolithic age where we have got to do more with geographical time of hundred thousand years than any lesser period. But the fact is important since much depends upon the lease of time granted for the first appearance of man....."

Now in conclusion it may be said that, as there are geological evidences to prove that the Narmadā valley was one of the homes of man in prehistoric times, specimens of tribes described in the epic are still found in the Central Indian regions and as the geographical directions given in the Rāmāyaṇa and corroborated by the Purāṇas point out Amarakaṇṭaka to have been the Laṅkā, it may be asserted that the peak now called Amarkaṇṭaka got that name because the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa was on it during the time when Rāma lived and ruled. No other place satisfies all the tests. Antiquarian researches may in future reveal more evidences in support of my conclusions.

Under the title of 'Ceylon and Laṅkā are different,' there appeared a small article in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society Bangalore, vol. xviii, no. 1. The author contends that Laṅkādvīpa and Āmradvīpa mentioned in the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Mahānāman (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, no. 71) are two different places and do not refer to the same place as Dr. Fleet and General Cunningham thought. The first two lines of the verse in which the two names occur may be quoted here to make its interpretation clearer.

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Āmradvīpādhivāsī pṛthukulajaladhis tasya śiṣyo mahīyān/
Laṅkādvīpaprasūtaḥ parahitanirataḥ san mahānāmanāmā//

It means Mahānāman, an inhabitant of Āmradvīpa, an ocean of a mighty family, born in Laṅkādvīpa. In the 2nd verse of this very inscription it is said, the disciples of Mahākāśyapa roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of Laṅkā. Evidently the chief seat of Mahākāśyapa must have been this Laṅkā, and all the country around it is spoken of as holy (stainless). This Mahānāman (II) who was greater than his guru Upasena II, being born in Laṅkā, which must have been the chief seat of Upasena II, should not have left such a sacred place to inhabit one which had no name either for piety or for learning. It is groundless to think that a great preceptor like Mahānāman II should have left his place of birth, which had a great reputation for holiness for a place of no merit. This establishes that Laṅkādvīpa and Āmradvīpa are the two names of one and the same place. But where was that place ?

In both the names the word 'dvīpa' is misleading ; it is generally understood to mean an island ; and Ceylon is, for unknown reasons, called Laṅkā. On theses grounds Dr. Fleet identified both Laṅkādvīpa and Āmradvīpa with Ceylon. He thought that the island might have been named Amradvīpa on account of its resemblance in shape to a mango. This is a mere imagination. As far as I know, no Indian poet had ever thought the island to resemble an Āmra.

Poets play upon words, but at the same time give reasons for it. Amarakaṇṭaka was named Āmrakūṭa by Kālidāsa and immediately he explained the significance of the name by *channopāntaḥ pariṇata-phaladyotibhiḥ kānanāmraiḥ* (Meghadūta, I, v. 18), i.e., the mountain was chiefly covered with wild mango trees.' This is the only place, in all India, that had a name suggesting its relation to the mango. Āmradvīpa of the inscription must, therefore, be the same as Āmrakūṭa, for dvīpa and kūṭa mean the same thing.

It has already been pointed out that the plateau of Amarakaṇṭaka is full of places of pilgrimage, sacred to Śiva. All around this plateau are innumerable places which were once the centres of Buddhism, Jainism or Śaivism. Bilaspur, Pendra, Sirpur, Tewar, and Bhilsa are some of the places around the Amarakaṇṭaka hills. There are epigraphical and other evidences to show that several maṭhas were established in the Central Provinces and most of them were situated near the Amarakaṇṭaka. This vouchsafes the statement in the verse referred to above that the disciples of Mahākāśyapa once roamed over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of Laṅkā.

This evidence further establishes the identity of Laṅkādvīpa with Āmradvīpa and of these two with Amarakaṇṭaka. Laṅkā was the name of the highland from which the two rivers, the Narmadā and the the Mahānadī rise, and it was the chief abode of Rāvaṇa, the king of the Rākṣasas of the time of Rāma of the Ikṣvāku family of North Kośala.

G. RAMADAS

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MISCELLANY

Nirvaṇa

I find that some of my views have been misconceived in some quarters. An instance of this will be met with in connection with the references to my views in the review of Stcherbatsky's Nirvāṇa by Kaccāyana (IHQ., III, no. 4, p. 871). To remove such misconception of my views already clearly expressed in my works I want to make my position clearer by this opportunity.

Nirvāṇa, from the beginning, is perfect happiness, the *summum bonum*, much better than any paradise, not a paradise (of course) without any conceivable relations with any form of existence. The canonic literature states clearly that the happiness of Nirvāṇa, end of suffering, is blissful because it is not *vedita*. Later, in the Buddhabhūmiśāstra, the philosopher understands that Buddhahood (id est the possession of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*) is better than the properly so called Nirvāṇa : for Nirvāṇa is *sukha*, but is not *sukhasaṃvedana*.

I have said that "Le yoga est essentiellement un ensemble de pratiques en honneur des les plus vieux âges de l'Inde âryenne ou autochtone, pratiques des sorciers et des thaumaturges, et dont il semble que la recherche des états hypnotiques soit le motif dominant : immobilité prolongée du corps.....c'est une technique ètrangére en soi à toute morale comme à toute vue religieuse ou philosophique. Mais de cette technique peuvent se dégager, à cette technique peuvent s'ajouter morale, théologie, dévotion et, comme on dit, théosophie" (Nirvāṇa, p.13). In Stcherbatsky's Nirvāṇa (quoted in IHQ., p. 872) this definition is summarized as follows : "Yoga is nothing but vulgar magic and thaumaturgy coupled with hypnotic practices."—But "essentiellement" cannot be translated by "nothing but."—"Fakirism" or "yogism" (there is, I believe, a line in the Ṛg-veda on half-mad saints) is originally and "essentiellement" supernatural devices to which magical forces are attributed. But, from a very remote past—men are reasonable and religious beings—from these practices have emerged, or to these practices have been added, mystical, religious, metaphysical theories : It is by means of trance or ecstasy, *dhyāna*, *samādhi*, etc. that a man obtains supernatural faculties, divine eye etc. It is by the same methods that man enters into relations with the gods,

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identifies himself for a time with Brahman, contemplates the *amatā dhātu* or Nirvāṇa. In the same way, prayer, sacrifices, rites of every sort, *brahmacarya*, and so on, take a magical or a religious garb. I do not believe that prayer or sacrifice is "essentially" and from the very first, magical; but is it not "vraisemblable" that *brahmacarya* was first practised without any speculation on the religious or moral merit of chastity, that the Yoga practices of fixing the eyes on the nose, etc., are, in themselves, hypnotic contrivances and that *tapas*, *dīkṣā* etc., are the rude materials on which have been built intricate and beautiful ideologies ?

But my point is that, to the end, Buddhism remains faithful to its Yoga-origins. Buddhists believe that the true and exact *jñāna* is the *avikalpakajñāna*, a certain knowledge, to be obtained in dhyāna, which is beyond words and concepts, which is free from any duality, subject and object. In this *jñāna*, there is neither a *grāhaka* nor a *grāhya*. In the canon, it is said that an ascetic sees *Nirvāṇa*, or rather "touches Nirvāṇa with its body," when he has entered into the *saṃjñāvedita-nirodhasamāpatti*.—Here we have what may be called a "metaphysic of ecstasy." I thought that I could make such remarks without any risk of being accused of considering Śākyamuni as a sorcerer. But because I have denied that Nirvāṇa is annihilation, Stcherbatsky concludes that I identify Nirvāṇa and Svarga !

European scholars can read French books, and I did not think it useful to answer my critic, for I hate controversies, as long as his inexact renderings were unknown abroad. But it is of importance for me that the learned Kaccāyana and the readers of the IHQ. should be better acquainted with my opinions. These opinions may be inexact, are certainly inexact, but they are not thoroughly absurd.

LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

The German Translation of the Kauṭilyan Artha-sastra

Professor Meyer's Humanism

"Kauṭilya is not a book but a library of ancient India. It would really require at least twenty years' exclusive devotion to the *Artha-śāstra* and the industry of a scholar who knew at least five hundred times as much as I do the downright numberless things discussed in it in order to exhibit its contents to the modern world in a somewhat satisfactory manner."

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In these words is to be found the spirit in which *Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben* (The ancient Indian book of worldly and political life) by Professor Johann Meyer seeks to present the learned world with the whole of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya in German. The book has been published by the well-known house of Otto Harrassowitz in Leipzig (1926) with the financial support, partial it should seem, of the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* which may be described as a society of patronage for German science. It is a post-war establishment with head-quarters at Berlin, founded with the special object of financing the "needy" scientists and helping forward their cultural activities and research work.

Professor Meyer does not appear to have ever produced a book of Sanskrit grammar and composition or a dictionary of the ancient or mediæval Indian languages. We do not, besides, owe him perhaps any catalogue of old manuscripts or descriptive report of printed books in the domain of Hindu thought. His earlier studies, for example, *Daśakumārcarita* (1903) and *Hindu Tales*, indicate that his interest in Indic lore was centered in life, its joys and sorrows, its achievements and its aspirations. As indologist he was more humanistic than philological. The aims and ideals of human beings constitute likewise the subject matter of his work on woman as depicted in the Indian epics.

In 1920 while in New York the following reactions to this last work of Meyer's were communicated by me to the *Collegian* (Calcutta):

"The position of woman in ancient India has long been the subject of much sentimentalism and loose thinking among modern scholars. The question indeed has not been seriousy tackled by any sociologist, Indian or foreign. The actual status of the female sex in Athenian society, in Roman law, in feudal-agrarian Europe, and even in the rural and Catholic West of to-day is not very enviable by the 'modern' standard. But its shortcomings and limitations are generally ignored by Occidental investigators, who pose as scientific scholars while proceeding to the study of the Hindu woman, and who take a morbid delight in exposing the weaknesses of the Indian social system. On the other hand, Indian interpreters as a rule have no experience of the solid achievements of the industrial revolution and are misguided by the exaggerated reports of Western idealists and spiritualitarians as to the alleged evils and dangers of the present social life in Eur-America. They are, besides, prone to

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taking some of the 'poetic ideals' in Hindu drama, poetry and fiction at their face-value and practising blindness to the actualities, the 'other side of the shield.'

"At this juncture an illuminating research, albeit solely from the 'literary' side and not by any means from the institutional aspect, has appeared in J. J. Meyer's *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*" (The woman in ancient Indian epic poetry), Leipzig, 1915. The book deals with woman from every conceivable angle on the data of the epics. Among other topics the following are discussed: maidenhood, marriage, motherhood, the ideal wife, the widow, masculine chastity, prostitution, and views about woman. Episodes and anecdotes have been liberally made use of.

"Ancient Hindu women, as reflected in literature, will be found to students of Greek, Hellenistic, Roman and mediæval-European morals and manners as but belonging to the same 'fair sex' with all its strength and weakness as their sisters of the West. Meyer's work can be depended upon as furnishing an objective basis for studies in comparative anthropology and culture-history."

Now that Professor Meyer has cared to apply his brains to the *Arthaśāstra* we find that he is interested in the personality of Kauṭilya from the standpoint of the vital urges of life. He examines also the contents of the *Kauṭilya-darśanam* with a view to the requirements of the social organism. We encounter here once more the humanist's grasp of the fundamental realities of flesh and blood and of the universal springs of action in private morals and public life. He is not a mere, conventional Kauṭilya-scholar. One feels in his attempts at psychological analysis and literary style that he commands the key to the very soul of Kauṭilya.

Textual Material

The translation is based on the following materials: (1) Shamasastry's first edition (Mysore, 1909), (2) Sorabji's Notes on Book II of the *Arthaśāstra* (Allahabad, 1914), (3) Jolly and Schmidt's edition, vol. I. (Lahore, 1923), (4) Ganapati Sastri's text, part I, which furnishes only the Books I and II of the *Arthaśāstra* (Trivandrum, 1924) (the other parts reached the author too late for use in the present instance), (5) Variants in the Munich manuscript (called B text) referred to in Jolly and Schmidt't edition, vol. II (Lahore, 1924).

Meyer considers the Ṭrivandrum text to be far superior to the Mysore and Lahore texts. The second Mysore edition is at points

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better than the Trivandrum. But he regrets that his translation is not based on the best material that is available to-day, by which he means the Trivandrum text. He believes, however, that the Trivandrum edition does not embody the last word on the text question.

Meyer has had to introduce emendations, first, in regard to punctuation, very often an extremely difficult problem, and secondly, in regard to readings. These "conjectures" have been detailed in the notes, but on closer examination he has corrected some of his conjectures in the *Nachtrag* (Supplement). But all the same, the scholars who will devote themselves to the text will find something valuable in these conjectural improvements and corrections of those improvements.

Previous Translations and Comments generally ignored

According to Meyer, Ganapati Sastri's edition contains some of the most valuable of all the material up till now available concerning the *Artha.*, because his commentary, in Sanskrit as it is, presents us, in the main, with the notes and comments of mediæval Indian writers. But Meyer considers this commentary to be very often misleading and has refrained from going extensively into it since this would have compelled him to undertake lengthy discussions. The English notes and Sanskrit commentary (*Nayacandrikā*) in Jolly and Schmidt's vol. II have been entirely ignored by Meyer. Likewise has he, as a rule, avoided consulting the Kauṭilya researches that have appeared in the Journals of the learned societies.

Meyer whole-heartedly appreciates the services rendered by Shamasastry's translation, but thinks that they have not throughout been really for good. He is generous enough to say : "Shamasastry knows more Sanskrit than I do." But in the foreword (p. xiv) he has given an instance of the latter's mistranslation (cf. S. 1915, p. 290, lines 1-6), which is anything but encouraging. The matter has reference to criminology in matters sexual (*Artha.*, Book IV, ch. XII, sec. 87) and may be followed in detail in the German translation and the elaborate footnotes on pp. 356-360 (also supplementary appendix, p. 823).

The book may to a certain extent disappoint those critics and scholars who would like to find in one place an extensive summary, criticism and estimate of all that has been done on the subject. The value of the book is to be appreciated indeed in other directions. Like every other writing, says Meyer with questionable logic, how-

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ever, the *Artha.* must be explained by itself, i.e., without reference to the previous and later literature on the subject and allied topics. His method, therefore, has consisted in as intensive a study of the text as possible. The "bulldog-like" tenacity with which he has bitten into this original stuff in order to chew and assimilate the bony and meaty materials will not fail to distinguish his work favourably from that of other scholars in the same field.

It need be observed, however, that in spite of all his eschewings, the book that has been produced is a "little elephant." It has reached the modest dimension of some 1070 pages of the folio size in small pica. The preface and the introduction account for 88 pages, and the *Nachtrag* or supplement (which is really a continuation of footnotes), 222 pages. In these sections there are some 370 words per page. This would make about 338 pages of the *I.H.Q.*

As for footnotes, they constitute on the average some 30 to 40 per cent. of each page in smaller types (long primer). Since the translation together with the footnotes covers 668 pages one can easily gauge the volume of the notes. It is evident, therefore, that readers have been served with a formidable mass of comments, references, parallel passages, emendations, corrections, criticisms, interpretations, hints and suggestions, although the author's claims are modest and the ignorings, explicitly stated by himself, might seem at first sight a little damaging to the worth of the publication.

There is no bibliographical list separately printed but many well known names in indology are to be encountered in these pages. And it may be of interest to the scholars of Young India to learn that virtually nothing that has been done by them since 1905 in the fields of *artha*, *nīti* and allied subjects has escaped Meyer's attention and careful consideration.

Incidentally, it may be observed that the two indices are very valuable. The subjects-index covers 46 pages, while 78 columns are devoted to the list of Sanskrit words with German translation.

Testing a Translation

For the present, I am not interested in the subject-matter of the *Arthaśāstra*, in the theories of the "seven-limbed organism," "earthly good," world-conqueror, and the like, or in the "human nature in politics." It is not necessary, therefore, to examine Meyer's notes and views on the constitutional, economic, financial, military, legal, criminological, ethical, international and other topics of social science dealt with by

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Kauṭilya. The book before us is a translation, and a translation can be judged only by comparison with the original.

In the present instance, however, comparing with the original is a very tedious job. First, the German will have to be translated into English for the convenience of readers. Secondly, there is already an English translation available, that of Shamasastry, which ought to be reproduced for the background. In the third place, an Italian translation of Book I has been published by Vallauri in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. VI (Rome 1915). It will likewise have to be cited as well as rendered into English for the purpose of comparison. Finally, there are the commentaries in the Lahore and Trivandrum texts to be reproduced if necessary and presented in English.

In order to do justice to Kauṭilya as well as to the labours of Professor Meyer it is not undesirable to undertake this rather dry grammatical and verbalistic study. Let me begin by craving the patience of readers.

Italian, German and English Translations compared

Book I, ch. XIII is called *svaviṣaye kṛtyākṛtyapakṣarakṣaṇam*. Vallauri describes it as *custodia dei partiti favorevoli e contrari nel proprio territorio* (custody of favourable and contrary i.e. adverse or unfriendly parties in one's own territory). The Italian translation differs to a certain extent from S.'s "protection of parties for or against one's own cause in one's own state." The words "for or against one's own cause" are to be found as "favourable and contrary" in the Italian. But in S. there is "or" and in V. we find "and." This "and" is required by the text.

But what does *cusotdia* (or protection) mean as a synonym for *rakṣaṇa*? According to S. it should seem that "one of the two parties is to be protected," but exactly which is not mentioned. Besides, one does not understand as to what is to be protected against. In V., of course, *custodia* need not necessarily mean protection. It is rather equivalent to "keeping in custody" or "taking care of" and "guarding" certain things. "Guarding the friendly and unfriendly parties" may have some sense, at any rate, more definite than "protecting one or other party."

The problem here however consists neither in "protecting", nor in "guarding" in any usual sense. The two important words, *kṛtya* and *akṛtya*, have not been happily rendered either in Italian or in English and their places have, besides, been wrongly transposed in both.

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The technical significance of the *kṛtya* has been fully explained in the text itself in the chapter in question towards the close and described with detail in the next chapter at the beginning. It means "what can be worked upon i.e. influenced or corrupted (by others i.e. by enemies)." The *kṛtyapakṣa* is therefore the party or the group that is liable to fall a prey to overtures from the enemy and hence metaphorically may be taken to be unfavourable (*contraria*). Exactly opposite is the *akṛtyapakṣa*, i.e., the party or group that cannot be worked upon, influenced or corrupted by an enemy, and hence the *favorevole* or friendly party. Instead of "parties for or against one's cause" and "*partiti favorevoli e contrari*" we should have "parties against or for one's own cause" and "*partiti contrari e favorevoli*," if we are to use expressions derived and hence a little remote from *kṛtya*. The literal sense has been preserved by Meyer who uses *bearbeitbare Partei* for *kṛtyapakṣa* and *unbearbeitbare Partei* for *akṛtyapakṣa*.

Such being the character of the two parties, what should *rakṣaṇa* mean? It can be neither "protection" nor "guarding," "taking care" or preserving, in the sense in which one takes these actions. The actual function described here is "guarding and protecting" (from the influence of others).

The complete German translation of the title reads as follows: *Wachehalten ueber die bearbeitbare und die unbearbeitbare Partei im eigenen Reich* (watching the corruptible and incorruptible parties in one's own empire or state). "Watching" implies more of positive precaution against danger than either "protection" or "custody." Meyer's rendering seems, therefore, to be the most accurate and expressive of all the three.

But none of these terms, protection, *custodia, Wachehalten*, guarding, watching, or watching and saving, is after all really suggestive of the functions intended. So Meyer adds a note to the effect that, as better German, the title of the chapter should read *Die Bewahrung der Getreuen und die Vorsichtsamassregeln* (*Schuetz-vorkehrungen*) *gegen die Verfuehrbaren*, i.e. the protection (or preservation) of the faithful (*akṛtya*) and measures of precaution (or prudence) against the corruptible (*kṛtya*).

Kṛtya (corruptible) and Akṛtya (incorruptible) as socio-political groups

Let us now examine the title of the next chapter which likewise deals with *kṛtya* and *akṛtya*. The full title is *paraviṣaye kṛtyākṛtya-*

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pakṣopagrahaḥ. S. has "Winning over factions for or against an enemy's cause in an enemy's state." V. has "*Conciliziione dei partiti favorevoli e contrari nel territorio del nemico* (conciliation of the favourable and unfriendly parties in the territory of the enemy).

Here, again, S. has "or" where we should expect "and." But his translation of the *kṛtyākṛtyapakṣa* in this instance is different from that in the previous. V., however, keeps to his old phrase, namely, *partiti favorevoli e contrari*, without any modification.

The novelty introduced by S. consists in "for or against an enemy's cause" in the place of "for or against one's own cause." This change is unwarrantable. In both instances the *kṛtya* and *akṛtya* are two categories used generically for the corruptible and incorruptible. If at all, it is from the standpoint of the *vijigīṣu*, that the classification is to be made. There is no question of the enemy's standpoint in the title itself.

But it is clear, of course, that in the enemy's territory the corruptible is the party friendly to the *vijigīṣu* and unfriendly to the native ruler, whereas in his own territory the corruptible is the party friendly to the enemy and unfriendly to himself. The two categories of socio-political parties are to be found in each state. It is the function of the *vijigīṣu* to spot them out and employ the proper tactics with regard to his own goal of life.

What, now, does *upagraha* imply? The Italian has "conciliation" and the English "winning." The first is not at all suitable, the second is better as it describes really what is actually to be done. But yet it is not literal.

In a way, the *rakṣaṇa* of the previous chapter and *upagraha* of this are identical. The text in Ch. XIV really begins with the sentence which contains the word *upagraha* as a description of *rakṣaṇa*, i.e., what has been discussed in the previous chapter. But merely "watching" (if we use the word employed above) the two parties in an enemy's territory would not do nor would "saving" them from the enemy (?) have any significance in the present instance. The real function here consists in, first, corrupting the corruptible, and secondly, winning over the incorruptible by hook or by crook.

Is there any one word which is likely to cover the two functions in regard to one's own territory and the two functions in regard to the enemy's? That word is to be found perhaps in the phrases "treatment of," "dealing with," "attitude or behaviour towards," etc. These expressions are quite colourless and may therefore be endowed

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with four different psychologico-diplomatic pigments (1) according as the *kṛtya* (corruptible) belongs to the *vijigīṣu's* or enemy's state, and (2) according as the *akṛtya* (incorruptible) belongs to the one or the other territory. And this is just the word used by Meyer, namely, *Behandlung*. The title of Ch. XIV in German is *Die Behandlung der Bearbeitbaren und der Unbearbeitbaren im Reiche des Feindes* (the treatment of the corruptible and the incorruptible in the enemy's state). Meyer thus avoids "conciliation" of the Italian and "enemy's cause" of the English and presents a thoroughly faithful and expressive description of what is being expounded in the text that follows.

Upagraha = Handling

We shall now enter the chapter and examine some of the passages in their English, Italian and German forms. Book I. Ch. XIV begins with *Kṛtyākṛtyapakṣopagrahaḥ svaviṣaye vyākhyātaḥ*. S. has "protection of parties for or against one's own cause in one's own state has been dealt with." This is in keeping with his use of the terms as explained above but fails to convey any concrete sense in regard to the different methods to be employed. The Italian translation furnishes us with *La conciliazione dei partiti favorevole e contrari nel proprio territorio è stata dichiarata* (the conciliation of the parties * * * has been declared or discussed). But "conciliation" is not the tactic to be employed indiscriminately to the *kṛtya* and the *akṛtya*, and cannot therefore be used to explain *upagraha*. The German translation reads as follows: *Wie er die Bearbeitbaren* (*Verfuehrbaren*) *und die nicht-Bearbeitbaren* (*Getreuen*) *im eigenen Reiche anzupacken hat ist erklaert worden* (how he should grasp or handle the corruptible and the incorruptible in his own state has been explained). The comparison would not fail to evaluate M's rendering as not only the best of the three but the only one that is correct and idiomatic.

M. adds a note to *upagraha* at p. 30. He says that the word means grasping, seizing and is to be taken both in a friendly as well as in a hostile sense.

Two Verses in Book I, Ch. XIV

Take now the last but one verse in the same chapter:

tatheti pratipannānstān saṃhitān paṇakarmaṇā
yojayeta yathāśakti sāpasarpān svakarmasu.

S's rendering is as follows: "All these disaffected persons, when acquiescing to the above proposals, may be made under a

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solemn pact (*paṇakarmaṇā*) to form a combination together with the spies to achieve their end."

In this translation there is much too brevity to allow *yathāśakti* and *svakarmasu* to exercise their influence on the sense. We are not told whose *śakti* or power is being used and whose *karma* or work is to be done. Besides, the structure of the sentence is defective on several points. It is doubtful, in the first place, if the force of this passage has been maintained in the indirect, impersonal form and in the passive voice. The text leaves no doubt that it is the *vijigīṣu* who is to employ them (*yojayeta*). Then, the "combination" "under a pact" is not made under compulsion as the rendering suggests. Finally, the phrase "to achieve their end" is not in order. Whose end is to be achieved ?

The Italian translation has tried to preserve the significance of the different processes or stages involved in the consummation. "*Quelli che approvano,*" says V., "*vincolatili per opera di un patto deve (il re) impiegare secondo che puo nelle opre proprie à ciascuno, in unione con spie,*" literally, those who approve, bound by an act of pact, should (the king) employ according to what one can in the work proper to each in union with the spies. The literal English rendering of the Italian is not idiomatic but at any rate serves to show that the disaffected persons first "approve of" or "acquiesce in" the proposals of the *agents provocateurs* and are then bound by a pact and form themselves into a combination. The *vijigīṣu* then employs them in the sphere of work for which each is best fitted. That is, he "exploits" them all in the manner in which each is most competent to help him and ruin his enemy. And of course he does not neglect to associate the *agents* with these new "allies."

Here *yathāśakti* is rendered by *secondo che puo* and has reference to these disaffected persons. And *svakarmasu* is *nelle opre proprie*, i.e., describes the work proper to each of these persons.

Coming now to the German translation we get the following sentence: *Alle, die mit den Worten: "Ja, so ist's recht !" darauf eingehen und sich unter Abschliessung eines festen Handels mit ihm verbinden moege er nach ihrer Faehigkeit zusammen mit seinen eigenen Beschleichern an seine eigenen Geschaefte stellen.* That is, those who with the words "Yes, that's all right" declare their agreement (with the *agents* in their views and proposals) and bind themselves to him by concluding a fast bargain, he should employ in his own affairs in accordance with their capacity together with his own agents.

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Here, as in the Italian, *yathāśakti* has reference to these "new allies," but *svakarmasu* to the *vijigīṣu's* own affairs. The Italian rendering goes perhaps a little too far. In the German the phrase *tatheti* has been given in its literal form, "yes, that's all right," which is lost sight of both in the Italian and English renderings. Both S. and V. take *paṇakarmaṇā* as a "solemn pact" or an "act of pact." It is doubtful if in the long run these two phrases differ in any significant sense from the *festen Handels* or "solid bargain" of the German. Altogether, then, it appears that there is hardly anything to change in M's passage. V's rendering is slightly weak on the point of *tatheti* and perhaps far-fetched in regard to *svakarmasu*. The least satisfying is S., although not un-intelligible. It may be observed that here, as before, G's commentary has been closely approximated in the German.

Almost the same remarks will have to be made in regard to the three translations of the next verse with which Ch. XIV. concludes. It is thus worded:

labheta sāmadānābhyām kṛtyāṁśca parabhūmiṣu
akṛtyān bhedadaṇḍābhyām paradoṣaṁśca darśayet.

The passage is very simple and cannot be misunderstood. But S's construction is not happy and indeed entirely faulty. He says: "Likewise friends of a foreign king may also be won over by means of persuasion and rewards, while implacable enemies may be brought round by sowing dissensions, by threats and by pointing out the defects of their master." Unfortunately, here, S. translates *kṛtyān* by "friends of a foreign king." Just the opposite is meant, namely, the corruptibles in the enemy's territory. Equally wrong is "implacable enemies" as rendering of *akṛtyān*, which should really be the incorruptibles, i.e., the friends of the enemy. The passive form of the sentence, again, has marred the effect, and then the use of "may" has squeezed all essence out of it.

The Italian is correct and idiomatic. It says: *Deve poi guadagnarsi colla benevolenza e con elargizioni i partiti favorevoli nel territorio del nemico; i partiti sfavorevoli con scissione e castigo e mostri (in pubblico) le colpe del (re) nemico.*

In the German rendering we read: *Durch schoene Worte und Geschenke moege er die Verfuehrbaren in Feindeslaendern fuer sich gewinnen, die Getreuen durch Zwietrachtsaeen und Gewaltmittel und auch die Fehler des feindlichen Koenigs moege er ihnen vor Augen halten.*

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The Italian and German are almost identical. V. has his own words *favorevoli* for *kṛtya* and *sfavorevoli* (unfavourable) for *akṛtya*, which, however, as we have observed before, are not very expressive. The German omits *ca* (likewise, and, *poi*), but has presented *parabhūmiṣu* in the plural, while the Italian has done it in the singular. But otherwise, both read in English more or less as follows: "With beautiful words and presents he should win over the corruptibles in the enemy's lands, and the incorruptibles with dissensions and force ; he should also place before their eyes the faults of the enemy king."

What is Mantrādhikāraḥ ?

Book I. Chap. XV is called *mantrādhikāraḥ*. It is translated as "the business of council-meeting" in S. and *ufficio del consiglio*, office (or duty?) of the council (or counsel?) in V. Neither rendering is accurate or happy. *Mantra* is neither council nor counsel nor council-meeting. It means deliberation or discussion. The word *consiglio* may of course mean deliberation. But it is not clear if the translator means this. As for *adhikāra* it is neither *ufficio*, i.e., office (or function) nor business but perhaps nothing more than "chapter" or "section" of a book.

In the German translation we have *Das Geschaeft der Beratung*, literally, the business of deliberation. M. has a note to this rendering, namely, "*oder weniger wahrscheinlich das Amt* (*Gebiet*, *Wirkensgebiet*) *der Beratung*," i.e. "or less probably the office (field, scope, province) of deliberation." There is another note which says "*vielleicht einfach das Kapitel von der Beratung....Vgl. das haeufige adhikārikam in den Ueberschriften K.*," i.e., "perhaps simply, the chapter on deliberation, cf. the frequent *adhikārikam* in the headings of K."

The last one seems acceptable to myself. G's commentary first defines *mantra* in the sense of deliberation and then says *mantraḥ saihādhikriyate*, i.e., "*mantra* is being discussed here." Again, *mantrasvarūpam tu noktam, tadihocyate iti sambandhaḥ* (but the nature of *mantra* has not been discussed, this is being propounded here).

Svapakṣa and Parapakṣa

The chapter begins as follows: *kṛtasvapakṣaparapakṣopagrahaḥ kāryārambhāṅścintayet*. S. translates it in the following manner: "having gained a firm hold on the affection of both local and foreign

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parties both in his own and enemy's state, the king shall proceed to think of administrative measures."

The rendering is too wide and liberal. The meanings of *svapakṣa* and *parapakṣa* have hardly been grasped.

The Italian says: *Essendosi conciliati i partiti nel proprio e nel territorio nemico pensi (il re) alle pratiche degli affari*, the parties in one's own territory and in the enemy's being conciliated, the king should think of the practice (conduct) of affairs. This rendering is not as diffuse as the English but is as weak as the other in regard to the *svapakṣa* and the *parapakṣa*. Besides, *conciliati* is not the word for *upagraha*, the sense of which is much better preserved in S's "firm hold." It need be observed, further, that *svapakṣa*, one's own party, is substantially different from the Italian *partiti nel proprio* (parties in one's own territory). Similarly, *parapakṣa*, party of the enemy, cannot be identical with the *partiti nel territorio nemico* (parties in the enemy's territory) as V's rendering wants us to understand.

By the side of these two renderings let us place M. He says: *Hat er seine eigene Partei und die des Feindes fest im Griff so denke er auf den Beginn von Unternehmungen*, literally, "if (or when, i.e., after) he has his own and enemy's parties firmly in grasp, he should think of commencing the enterprises. The translation is faithful to the letter, avoids vagueness *re svapakṣa* and *parapakṣa* and does justice to *ārambha* which has been ignored both in the English and the Italian.

The English, "having gained a firm hold," is good and idiomatic and quite literal as compared to the Italian *conciliati*, which is certainly wrong. But S's "both local and foreign parties both in his and enemy's state" does not clearly say, in spite of verbosity, that the *vijigīṣu's* "own party" is to be found in both territories and that the *parapakṣa* (enemy's party) is likewise to be found in both. The text has no word relating to "territory" here. The relevant words are *sva* and *para*.

Kāryārambha = Enterprise

Let us pass on. *Mantrapūrvāḥ sarvārambhāḥ*. S. writes: "all kinds of administrative measures are preceded by deliberations in a well-formed council." The Italian rendering says: *Tutti i cominciamenti di imprese devono essere preceduti da consiglio*, all commencements of enterprises should be preceded by council (or counsel ?). The word for S's "well-formed council" is not to be found in the Lahore or Trivandrum text. The word "deliberations" has however

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been rightly used in the English, so also perhaps the word *consiglio* in the Italian, if it is not to mean here "council" or ordinary counsel.

Mantrapūrvāḥ has been literally rendered as "preceded by deliberations" and "*preceduti de consiglio.*" But what is *sarvārambhāḥ*? Literally, it means "all commencements." V. makes it explicit with additional "*di imprese.*" But S. forsakes the word "commencement" altogether and uses "all kinds of deliberative measures." It need be observed that *ārambha* does not necessarily have to be taken always in the literal sense of "commencement." It may as well be rendered, according to context, by "*enterprises,*" "*imprese,*" "*Unternehmung,*" and thus be taken as a synonym for *kārya.*

In any case, S's "all kinds of administrative measures" is wide of the mark and much too descriptive. Besides, *kārya* or *kāryārambha* is not identical with "administrative measures," technically or specifically so called. It is better to take it as "enterprises" etc. in the generic sense. Thus G.'s commentary explains it as follows: *svaviṣaye durgādīnām paraviṣaye sandhivigrahādīnam ca karmaṇām.* We notice that *karma* or *kārya* comprises activities like attending to fortifications in one's own state and war and peace in regard to the enemy. Evidently, all this can hardly be labelled as "administrative measures." The sphere of *kārya* is more comprehensive than that of "administration."

In the light of this discussion let us test the German translation. M. has *Von der Beratung abhaengig sind alle Unternehmungen* (on deliberation are all enterprises dependent). The literalness of the English "preceded" and Italian "*preceduti*" has been lost in the German *abhaengig.* M. has not cared to take *ārambha* in the literal sense of *Beginn* as used in the previous sentence. He takes it as identical with *kārya* and hence employs *Unternehmungen.* On the whole, the statement is terse and effective.

The Place of Deliberations

Let us now watch the deliberations. The text says: *taduddeśaḥ sambritaḥ kathānāmanihsrāvī pakṣibhirapyanālokyaḥ syat.* This is translated by S. thus: "The subject matter of a council shall be entirely secret and deliberations in it shall be so carried that even birds cannot see them." The rendering is wrong in regard to *uddeśa,* which does not mean "subject matter" but "place" as G.'s commentary explains. It ignores *kathānāmanihsrāvī* altogether. Then,

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again, the sentence connects the birds with deliberations. The grammar would have it that the *uddeśa* is not to be seen by birds.

The Italian translation says: *l'oggetto di questo rimanga segreto, non divulgantesi per discorsi e (tale che) non sia veduto par dagli uccelli*, the object of this is to remain secret, not divulging by conversations and (such that) it cannot be seen by birds.

Here the mistake of the English in regard to *uddeśa* is reproduced. Only, where S. has "subject matter of a council," V. gives '*oggetto*' (of the *consiglio*). In the Italian there is an attempt to do justice to *kathānāmanihsrāvī* (literally, which does not allow words to flow out) by *divulgantesi per discorsi*, which, however, does not indicate that the real sense has been caught. Then, again, in the Italian the "object" of deliberations is not to be "seen" by birds just as in S. "deliberations" are not to be "seen" by birds. We find, then, that both the Italian and the English renderings are equally wrong and in almost the same particulars.

What does the German translation furnish us with? We read: *Der ort der Beratung sei ganz heimlich, wo kein Wort hinausdringt, wo sogar Voegel nicht hinschauen koennen*, lit., the place of deliberation is to be entirely secret, where not a word goes out, where even birds cannot look in.

The value of every Sanskrit word has been preserved. No improvement can be suggested in the structure of the sentence from the viewpoint of literalness except perhaps in the following manner: "The place ..... secret, not allowing words to flow out and incapable of being seen even by birds." It is to be observed that *kathānāmanihsrāvī* is adjective and can be redered as *die Reden nicht hinausrinnend lassend*. And this is exactly what M. suggests in the note. The next item in Sanskrit is also an adjective and in the passive form. I may use an appropriate German phrase to match it, thus, *der sogar nicht von Voegel erspaeht werden kann*.

The Correct Name of Book XII

Book XII is entitled *ābalīyasam*. The title seems to have been misunderstood by both Shamasastry and Jolly. In S.'s rendering the Book is known as "Concerning a powerful enemy." J. has "*ein uebermaechtiger Feind*". (a very powerful enemy), almost the literal German translation of S's English.

But how does Meyer want us to understand the name of this Book? He calls it *Verhalten des Schwachen, bis er staerker wird*

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(The attitude or conduct of the weak until he becomes strong). There is a world of difference between this rendering and that of S. and J. The latter divert our attention to the enemy and to his strength, whereas M.'s title invites us to focus our attention on the weak, or comparatively weaker party without referencc to the enemy. M. should appear to be right while S. and J. are wrong.

The mistakes of S. and J. are both contentual as well as philolgical. First, the topics discussed in the Book have reference really to the thousand and one methods to be employed by the states that happen to be relatively weak for the time being. Naturally, the enemy in reference to whose power the party considers itself to be weak demands the attention of the author all through. But we are being taught here not what the "powerful enemy" is doing or likely to do but primarily as to how the weak is to attitudinize himself in regard to those whom he has to fear. The subject matter has therefore to be discussed most expressively by the title, "conduct of the weak."

The Grammar in ābalīyasam

Let us now turn to the philological aspect of the word *ābalīyasam.* It is evident that grammatically it is not possible to detect the "powerful enemy" in the form in which the word occurs.

Let us here follow Meyer in his footnote at page 594. It runs thus: "*Ābalīyasa* thus means, as I believe, *auf das bis zum Staerkerwerden bezueglich* (concerning until-the-more-powerful-becoming) (*ā+balīyas+a*)." German language is almost as rich as Sanskrit in the command over particles, the *upasargas, pratyayas, sandhis* etc. So the above rendering is further explained by M. as follows; "thus literally we have here *Auf das Biszumstaerkerwerden Bezueglichs.*" This additional explanation would convey nothing new in English translation, and indeed nothing new in German either except that a big compound noun has been made out of a verb in the infinitive mood, an adjective in the comparative form, and two prepositions.

For the present purpose "*biszum*" (i.e. until) is the most important item. It stands for *ā*, which, as so common in Sanskrit when combined with a noun, may possess an inclusive or exclusive sense according to the context.

Conduct of the Weak

The footnote suggests another construction of the word. It says: "of course it would not be impossible to take it as a derivation from

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a-baliyas. In that case the word would mean simply "*Verhalten des Schwaecheren* (attitude or conduct of the weaker)." Here, of course, there is *a* (i.e. not) instead of *ā* (until). So for *a-baliyas* we get "not-strong, and *ā-balīyasam* would imply "concerning the not strong."

In either case the correct rendering should pin us down to the "conduct of the weak, and by no means to the "powerful enemy" of S. and J.

In G.'s text, part III, p. 154 there is a note of five or six lines given over to the *ā-balīyasam.* The explanation offered would tend to support M. although the difficulty connected with the word does not seem to have been grasped by the commentator. He is quite clear, however, in the following statement: *prabale abhiyoktari durbalena yat kartavyam tad asmin adhikaraṇe pratipādyate* (In this Book is being propounded what is to be done by the weak in reference to a powerful aggressor).

The fragmentary notes of the *Nayacandrikā* also speak of the *durbalatarasya kṛtyam* (duty of the weaker) in this connection (Jolly and Schmidt, vol, II, p. 212).

Anupraṇato = bend humbly, or surrender himself entirely ?

The difference between S. and M. in the translation, may be seen in the following passage with which Ch. I, of the Book XII, begins: *balīyasābhiyukto durbalaḥ sarvatrānupraṇato vetasadharmā tiṣṭhet.* S. renders the passage thus: "when a king of poor resources is attacked by a powerful enemy he should surrender himself together with his sons (S.'s text has here *saputrānupraṇato* instead of *sarvatrānupraṇato*) to the enemy and live like a reed (in the midst of a current of water)."

Meyer has the following: *Von einem staerkeren angegriffen, soll sich der Schwache in allen Faellen demutig beugen nach der Art des Rohrs*" (attacked by one more powerful, the weak should in all cases bend humbly in the manner of the reed). The German translation is more literal and concise. If greater literalness were demanded, perhaps one might construct the second half of the sentence thus: "the weak should in all cases *with salutation* practise the manner of the reed." This, however, is hardly idiomatic. In any case it is nothing more than M.'s *demuting beugen* (bend humbly or offer "salutation") that is intended by the phrase *anupraṇato.*

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S.'s "surrendering himself" is diplomatically and militarily not only too much but is really a mistranslation. In Jolly's English notes we are told that the weak "should surrender himself entirely" (vol. II, p. 66). This is carrying S.'s interpretation further in the direction of error. The simple word *anupraṇato* does not entitle one to advise the weak to descend to this extreme depth.

It may be pointed out *en passant* that in G.'s commentary (part III, p. 154) the real import has been well preserved. Thus *anupraṇatah* is rendered as *tadanuvartanaparaḥ*, i.e., habituated to following the movements of the powerful, or moving with him. This "moving with him" will be parallel to the "reed" moving with the current (*śrotaso'nuvartanaṃ kurban banjulas tiṣṭhati*).

There are all grades of political and strategic manœuvring between this "bending humbly" or "moving with the current" and "surrendering oneself entirely."

Exhortations to War

We shall now take another passage where there is hardly any difference between S. and M. This contains Viśālākṣa's advice on the duties of the weak as contrasted with that of Bhāradvāja as described above. Viś. says: *sarvasandohena balānām yudhyeta. Parākramo hi vyasanam apahanti svadharmaś caiṣa kṣatriyasya. Yuddhe jayaḥ parājayo vā.* The Trivandrum and Lahore texts are identical here.

S'.s translation is worded as follows: "But Viś. says that a weak king should rather fight with all his resources, for bravery destroys all troubles; this (fighting) is the natural duty of a *Kṣatriya* no matter whether he achieves victory or sustains defeat in battle."

Meyer expresses himself thus: *Mit dem ganzen Aufgebot seiner Truppen soll er kaempfen. Denn die Tapferkeit tilgt das Unheil hinweg und dies ist die ureigene Pflicht des Kriegers: Sieg oder Niederlage in der Schlacht* (with the entire mobilization of his troops he should fight * * * the duty of the Kṣatriya: victory or defeat in battle).

The rendering seems in the main to be almost identical. And yet there are two items of importance to be noticed. The phrase *sarvasandohena balānām* is to be found as " with all his resources" in S. and as "with the entire mobilization of his troops" in M. Perhaps in the last analysis the one means substantially the same thing as the other. But the actual *military processes* involved in the two cases are different. The phrase "with his resources" is perhaps more

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political and financial than military. But the text conveys strictly a military significance. The process describes the "troops" (*balānām*) being drained (*sandoha*) or called to the colours "in their entirety." The German military technical expression, *Aufgebot* (calling out), is unboubtedly implied by the text. *Balānām sarvasandohaḥ* would be equivalent to *allgemeines Aufgebot* i.e. levy *en masse*. Viśālākṣa is really advising the state to summon the whole man-power to the front. Here, then, as before, M. is more literal and technically precise than S.

Then, there is another point. S. has established a connection between the last two items in Viś.'s advice This connection, however, is perhaps not implied in the text. "Victory or defeat in battle" is an independent piece of exhortation offered by Viś. It need not be tagged on to the advice *re* the *svadharma* of the Kṣatriya. The independence has been preserved by M. and should appear to be more to the point.

The Weak behaving as the Reed

A specimen of Meyer's annotations and comments in the *Nachtrag* (Supplement) can be seen in what he has to say on the lines just discussed. We often come across, says he, this picture of the reed and the bending before the powerful as before Indra. Compare, for example, *Raghu*, IV, 35; *Kirāta*, VI, 5 (Here he gives the German translation of the passage and remarks that it was not rightly understood by the translators); *Mahābhārata*, V, 34, 37; XII, 67, 11; XII, 113 (the oak and the reed). Then he quotes the *Nītivākyāmṛta* 41, 2-5 and gives the entire text in German which may be Englished as follows:—"The fight with a powerful enemy is for the weak who does not know his own strength, like the growth of wings in insects while approaching death. Wings develop in the insects only in order that the animals may fly into the flame. As long as the favourable opportunity does not come he has only to behave modestly or sweetly with the cause of his troubles. The wood, however, is carried by men even on their heads only to be burnt. It is while washing the feet of the trees on the banks that the river-current uproots and carries them off." Then follows a quotation from the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 140, namely,—"He should carry the enemy on the shoulder until the time is over. But as soon as he feels that the favourable time is come he should smash him as an earthen vessel on the stone."

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Kulaiḍaka = sheep out of its flock, or crab?

An instance of Meyer's self-correction comes from the next passage. *Neti Kauṭilyaḥ sarvatrānupraṇataḥ kulaiḍaka iva nirāśo jīvite vasati.* S. translates it as follows:—"No, says Kauṭilya; he who bows down to all like a crab on the banks of a river lives in despair." Perhaps with the same interpretation as S.'s, the construction would be better as well as more literal in the following form: "He who bows down to all lives in despair like a crab on the banks of a river."

M. has the following: *Wer sich in allen Faellen demutig beugt der weilt hoffnunsgalos im Leben wie ein Kuestenschaf* (He who bends humbly in all cases lives hopeless like a sheep on the sea-shore). The correct and literal construction has been preserved in the German translation.

This is to be found in the text at page 594. But in the *Nachtrag* at p. 876 M. wants the readers to correct his rendering. "*Wie ein Kuestenschaf*" is to be replaced by *wie ein aus der Herde verlorenes Schaf* (like a sheep lost out of its flock). This correction is made evidently in accordance with the commentary in G., which says *kulameṣa iva svayūthabhraṣṭaḥ* (like a sheep separated from its group).

But one may still inquire as to whether *kulaiḍaka* should not be more appropriately translated as "crab." But perhaps for "crab" we must have *kulīraka* in the place of *kulaiḍaka*, which in any case seems to be uncommon.

The word *kulaiḍaka* occurs in the form of *kulailaka* in Book XIII, Ch. I, (Lahore text, vol. I, p. 343; G., part III, p. 182). There also M. translates (p. 614) the word as *Uferschaf* i.e. "a sheep on the sea-shore" (having hardly anything to eat and therefore leading a precarious existence). But in the *Nachtrag* at p. 879, he corrects himself in favour of "a sheep lost from the flock" or gone astray. The correction is inspired evidently by the commentary in G., which again has the following: *Kulailakena svayūthabhraṣṭena jīvitanirāśena meṣeṇa.* It is not clear, however, why in both instances M. suggests *akulaiḍaka* for *kulaiḍaka.* S. has "crab" in this second instance as well.

How to Satisfy the Invaders

A problem in punctuation is afforded by the following instance. Three types of invaders (*abhiyoktāraḥ*) are being described. There

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are the *dharma-vijayī* (just conqueror), the *lobha-vijayī* (greedy conqueror) and the *asura-vijayī* (devilish or demon-like conqueror). In the Lahore and Mysore texts *asura* is mentioned second, while in the Trivandrum this place is occupied by the *lobha*. According to the descriptions that follow the Trivandram text is correct.

How, now, to satisfy each of these three types? *Teṣām abhyavapattyā dharmavijayī tuṣyati. Tamabhyavapadyeta. Pareṣām api bhayādbhūmidravyaharaṇena lobhavijayī tuṣyati.* With the punctuation as given in the above reading, we get the following in S.: "Of these the just conqueror is satisfied with mere obeisance. Hence a weak king should seek his protection. Fearing his own enemies the greedy conqueror is satisfied with what he can safely gain in land or money."

The German translation does not differ from the English in the first sentence. Both are correct and literal. But the second sentence reads as follows in German: *Dem moege er sich ergeben* (the weak should behave humbly", i.e., practise obeisance to him). The Sanskrit original does not mean anything more than "obeisance" which is likely to satisfy the *dharmavijayī*. S.'s "should seek his protection" is positively wrong. The word, namely, "obeisance," that has been used for *abhyavapattyā* in the first sentence should be likewise used for *abhyavapadyeta* in the seeond. In the German translation the same word "*ergeben*" has been rightly used in both instances.

Pareṣām api bhayāt = also from the fear of others

The punctuational difficulty arises here in connection with the phrase *pareṣām api bhayāt*. It is with this phrase that the Lahore and Mysore texts begin the sentence which describes how the *lobha-vijayī* is satisfied, and the English translation as offered by S. is based on this construction. But in M. this little phrase is a complete sentence: *Auch aus der Furcht vor anderen* (also from the fear of others). By the side of this translation, which is precise to the letter, S.'s "fearing his own enemies" is thoroughly out of the place and misleading. Now, the word *auch* (*api* or also) suggests that this phrase, although used as a complete sentence with a capital A, is really, as German idiom would suggest, a continuation of the phrase or sentence that has gone before, namely, "the weak should behave humbly to the *dharmavijayī*.

This construction is indeed to be found in G.'s text which takes these two phrases together in one sentence, — *tam avyapadyeta pareṣām api*

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bhayāt. And this sentence is added to the previous after a semicolon, indicating that the whole thing has reference to the *dharma-vijayī.*

G.'s commentary has the following: *taṃ dharmavijayinam, abhyavapadyeta, pareṣām api bhayāt na kevalam dharmavijayi-bhayāt kintu śatrvantarabhayād api* (i.e. not only from fear of the *dharmavijayī* but also from the fear of other enemies). The commentary adds a further note to the effect that the *dharmavijayī* not only does not himself harm the humble and respectful but protects him from the fear of other enemies.

The punctuation as well as interpertation offered by M. and G. convey a consistent meaning. The Lahore and Mysore readings should appear therefore to be defective and S.'s translation "fearing his own enemies, the greedy conqueror etc." meaningless.

It is because of this confusion in construction and sense that S.'s translation *re* the character of the *lobhaviyayī* has lost much of its genuine strength. In his rendering "the greedy conqueror is satisfied with what he can safely gain in land or money." The word "safely" is not to be found in the text and in fact robs the statement of its real value. The text is here describing the second type of invaders in a categorical manner without implying any modification by "buts" or "ifs", just as it has described the first type and is going to describe the third. This unconditional character has been preserved in the German rendering.

The phrase *bhūmi-dravya-haraṇena* has been rendered as "safely" gained in land or money" by S. and "*mit der Wegnahme von Land und Gut*" (with the seizure of land and goods) by M. The German is literal and correct. There is no question, here, of land *vs.* money. Both are implied. Finally *dravya* is a generic term for "goods" and is not to be treated at any rate in the present instance as identical with "money."

The Asura-vijayī

Let us now analyse the third type. The text runs thus: *bhūmidravyaputradāraprāṇaharaṇena asuravijayī, tam bhūmidravyābhyāmupagṛhyāgrāhyaḥ pratikurvīta.*

The first part of this statement is worded as follows in S.'s translation. "The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treausre, sons and wives of the conquered but by taking the life of the latter." The sense has somehow been made out but marred by the addition of unnecessary words and by the construction

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in a form that is not required by the original. The words "not merely" "but by" introduce a new tone. Then S. takes the four items, viz. land, treasure, sons and wives in one lump and separates it from the fifth, namely, life, which is thus presented with perhaps an undue importance. In any case no emphasis on any object or mode of aggression is to be found in the text itself.

The German translation on the contrary is exact and preserves the entire spirit of the original, thus :—*Nur mit dem Raub von Land Gut, Soehnen, Frauen und Leben* (*des Besiegten*) *giöt sich der teuflische Eroberer zufrieden* (only with the robbing of land, goods, sons, wives and life of the conquered is the devilish conqueror satisfied). M. has added only one word, *nur* (i.e. only). This, however, is more in keeping with the elegance of German style and does not at any rate serve to militate against the terseness of the Sanskrit or introduce an uncalled for concept.

The second part of the statement has been Englished in the following manner by S.: "Hence a weak king should keep such a conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth." The translation is incomplete, because it ignores the word *pratikurvīta* which happens to have a very important function in the present instance. In M.'s rendering we get: *Den moege er mit Land und Gut gewinnen und so. dass der andere ihn micht anfassen kann, Gegenmassregeln ergreifen* (him he should win with land and goods, and thus or then from an uncapturable position adopt antidotal measures).

The word *agrāhyaḥ* has been translated in German as "such that the other cannot capture him" i.e., unseizable. This is the import also of G.'s commentary which says *tadhastagocaram aprāpta eva san* (as not within the reach of the conqueror's hands and eyes). S.'s "keeping the conqueror at a distance" misses the point and at any rate is not justified by the original.

Then *pratikurvīta* has been left out by S. altogether. M. takes it as equivalent to "adopting" some "measures in reaction" to the situation that has risen. G.'s commentary says : *sandhyādinā pratikuryāt* i.e., react with *sandhi* or treaty of peace and other measures.

S.'s translation suggests that the weak has only to satisfy the *asuravijayī* with land and wealth. There is no further duty to be performed or course of action to be taken. After this he is presumably to lead a life of passive observation. But the text is precise on this point and wants the weak to take to an active programme. First, he has to see to it that he is beyond the invader's grasp. And

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secondly, he has to plan out a campaign "in reply to the attack", i.e., institute a programme of defensive measures which may begin with *sandhi* or peace "conversations" but may end anywhere for all that we know.

The Third Case-ending as an Instrument of Equalization or Similarity

It may be observed in this connection that the entire paragraph of twelve lines in S., p. 477, is a wrong rendering of the text beginning with *sādhāraṇagardabhena dakṣān* and ending with *dhruvāpakāriṇa iti.* The eight passages describe some of the methods by which the different classes of people in the enemy's territory are to be weaned away from their master and won over to the *vijigīṣu's* side. G.'s commentary is very explicit in regard to the propaganda tactics. The German translation is accurate but perhaps not quite clear or expressive of the proper significance. But S. should appear to be entirely erroneous.

The English translation says: "They should characterize the enemy as an ordinary donkey towards skilful persons." The original contains only two words, namely, *sādhāraṇagardabhena* (ordinary donkey) and *dakṣān* (skilful persons). But there is nothing anywhere in the neighbourhood to connect these words. The connection has to be inferred from the context. Perhaps we can import the word *utsāhayet* from the sentence preceding the previous one. In that case the meaning is something like the following: "The skilful persons are to be encouraged (i.e. to secede from their master and come over to the *vijigīṣu*)". But how to connect the *sādhāraṇagardabha,* especially, its third case-ending, with this propaganda of sowing dissensions?

The light comes from G.'s commentary as follows:—*yathā hi sāmānyagardabhaḥ karma nityaṃ tatphalasyānabhijñaḥ karoti tathā yūyam parārthe karma tatphalānabhijñāḥ kurutha ity evam gardabhanidarśanena.* The *vijigīṣu's* propagandists are to go into the enemy's country and address the *dakṣān* i.e. *ye analasakarmakaraṇaśīlās tān* (the persons who are used to discharging their duties tirelessly) in the following manner: "Just as the common ass is always doing his work but is ignorant of the fruit, so also you people have been working for your master without knowing anything of or having a chance to taste its results" (in other words, you asses! you stupid fools! forsake your master, etc.).

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The comparison or identity is established between the ass and the skilful persons. The third case-ending in *gardabhena* indicates this relation of equality or similarity. But in S. it is the enemy, which however is not to be found in the text anywhere, that is likened to the ass. In the German rendering the import of the Sanskrit third case-ending has been preserved by the use of "*mit*" with *Esel* (*gardabha*) as follows:—*Die Tuechtigen* (*sollen aufgestachelt werden*) *mit dem Gemeindeesel*, literally, the skilful persons should be spurred or goaded on with the village ass. The significance of *mit* (which in German idiom is perhaps identical with that of the *tṛtīyā vibhakti* in Sanskrit, so far. at any rate, as the present instance is concerned. But in English it would hardly convey any sense. And in German also it is doubtful if the use of simple *mit* would enable the ordinary reader to guess without difficulty that the *Tuechtigen* are likely to be spurred on against their master, for they are being likened to or condemned as senseless asses by certain people who pose as friends.

The eight sentences referred to above are all composed in the same grammatical form. The English translation is uniformly wrong and the German uniformly literal although not perhaps quite suggestive except to those who would consult G.

A Propaganda Method

Coming back to *Kulailaka* as used in the present connection we have the following text: *Kulailakena codvignān*. In S. the enemy is to be characterized "as a crab on the shore to anxious persons." The rendering is meaningless not only in itself but also in connection with the grammatical peculiarity discussed above. Here, as elsewhere, the third case-ending really brings about a similarity or equality of condition between the *Kulailaka* and the *udvignān* (anxious persons). In uniformity with the structure of sentences employed by M. for this paragraph, the German rendering is to be found as *die Angsthasen* (i.e. frightened rabits, idiomatic for the cowardly and over-anxious) *mit dem Uferschaf*.

Here, again, the German *mit* alone hardly explains how to oonnect the *Uferschaf* (sheep on the sea shore) with the over-anxious and nervous persons. We have noticed that M. introduces a correction in the *Nachtrag*. Instead of *Uferschaf* we are to read "a sheep that has lost its touch with the herd." Once we know that *mit* or *with* is really "by comparison with" and implies an equation, we understand automatically what the propagandists of the *vijigīṣu* are to do in the

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enemy's camp. And this equation is furnished by the commentary very explicitly. We are told *udvignān parasmāt bhītān kulailakena svayūthabhraṣṭena jīvitanirāśena meṣeṇa, tadupamanikaraṇena ityarthaḥ: utsāhyet.* The propaganda is to be conducted in the following manner: The agents are to find out the *udvignān*, i.e., nervous and over-anxious persons among the enemy's people, which of course it is easy to find in every country facing the war and lecture to them as follows: "You cowardly and nervous people! do you know why you are feeling like *Angsthasen*? It is because you are like sheep and goats that have lost touch with their herd and are living like *jīvitanirāśa*, i.e., hopeless of life. In other words, the fault is not in you, good friends: Your hopelessness and despair are due to the fact that the flock to which you ought to belong is not to be found in your country. *Ergo*, come over to our master who by annexing the territory of your master will furnish the flock that you so sorely need, etc."

It is clear that neither "crab" nor "sheep on sea shore" would convey the right meaning here. And of course there is no sense in comparing the enemy to a crab as S. does.

A Masterpiece of Indology

The *Arthaśāstra* is a bulky book and the name of difficult passages in it is legion. My remarks on Meyer's translation are based on too few words, phrases or sentences.

Students of constitution, public finance, economics, jurisprudence, criminology, international law, morals, manners and what not, who may have to consult the translation will have occasion to appraise it from day to day, each from his own angle. And perhaps it will take about a decade's "wear and tear" before the academic world is fully aware of its merits and possible short-comings. In the meantime, on the strength of the few tests applied at random for the present contribution as well as for other purposes, it has appeared to me that we have here not only a generally dependable, faithful and idiomatic rendering of Kauṭilya's work, but one of the masterpieces of translation in the entire range of indology. The comparative examination of the English, Italian and German translations has not failed to furnish me, to be personal, with hints in regard to the work of revision for my English translation of the *Śukranīti* which has long been due.

But a problem has to be faced at once. This German *Arthaśāstra*

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is and will remain a sealed book to most of our scholars and University students in indology or the human and social sciences. An English translation based on all the Sanskrit texts and commentaries such as are already in print, with constant reference to Meyer, not ignoring of course Shamasastry, is an urgent necessity, not only for us in India but for everybody in the English-speaking world who is interested in comparative social science.

Contents of the Notes

The methodology and contents of Meyer's annotations may now be indicated in a few words.

The posing of the *Arthaśāstra* in the perspective of the *Smṛti* literature constitutes a special contribution of Jolly to Kauṭilya-scholarship. But M. has still found it necessary to refer to the Smṛtis since, as he says, J.'s point of view in regard to the legal texts and their bearings on Kauṭilya is different from his, as we shall have occasion to point out later on. Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and the latter-day authors, however, do not possess according to him the same value in regard to Kauṭilya-studies as the older works.

On the subject of Hindu legal literature, M. has a book of some 450 pages entitled *Ueber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften* (On Hindu Law-books and their Relations with one another and with Kauṭilya). That monograph should really be regarded in certain respects as a supplement to the present translation, or rather to the introduction to the present work.

The importance of the *Mahābhārata* in this regard has been recognised by Meyer who has, moreover, laid under centribution the *Kāmandakī-nīti* as well as the commentary of *Śaṅkarācarya*. The *Śukranīti* has likewise been very often utilized although in his judgment it is a very late compilation and in the portions which may be ascribed to the copyist himself most frightfully barbarous. Fortunately, however, says he, *Śukranīti* lets as a rule others speak. It exploits on a very large scale the entire Smṛti literature, especially, Nārada and the authorities cited by him, Bṛhaspati and of course Manu, and the *Mahābhārata* as well as *Kāmandakī* and other ancient and "recent" sources. Some really old and valuable material which otherwise is not or at any rate not yet available is to be found in the *Śukranīti* although often in a defective form.

The parallelisms or coincidences between the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Nītivākyāmṛta* are of course almost as important as those between

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the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmandakī*. But Meyer has referred to the *Nītivākyāmṛta* only for specially characteristic passages.

The verses in the *Arthaśāstra* may be followed in the *Tantrākhyāyikā* and *Pancatantra* more, however, as loans than as borrowings, says he.

Indian Tradition Vindicated

In regard to the Kauṭilya question, i.e., the date and personality of the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, Meyer devotes 36 pages of the introduction in order to vindicate the Indian tradition. He tries to prove that Kauṭilya of the Candragupta Maurya fame, the ambitious and diplomatic Brāhmaṇa minister, the revolutionary philosopher and scholar, is the one single author—compiler and reformer—of the political science as embodied in the *Arthaśāstra* associated with his name. The tradition remains unshaken, says he, in spite of modern attempts to assail it, and appears even to be "supported by very high probability." Doubts, of course, are not dissipated. But we must be very modest in our scepticism, at any rate, for the present. The benefit of doubt is, in M.'s judgment, on the side of the tradition.

The subject, as is well-known, is still very controversial. It would be beyond the scope of the present paper, already lengthy as it is, to enter into or to deal with that controversy which in any case is not likely to be closed very soon. Meyer's discussion is extensive but is being boiled down within a small compass so that the readers may be furnished with his leading ideas.

To begin with, neither Megasthenes nor Patañjali of course mentions Kauṭilya. But that the tradition cannot be negatived by *argumentun ex silentio* is a quite handy although not the only reply.

Arthaśāstra the Work of one Person

The late Professor Hillebrandt all along held the view and has stated it in his *Altindische Politik* (Ancient Indian Politics), Jena, 1923, that the portions marked *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* constitute the statements of Kauṭilya himself, but collected together by some of his followers who are responsible for the compilation of the whole book. Against this view of the school or collective origin of the *Artha*. Meyer offers his own which runs to the effect that *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* may be written by Kauṭilya himself just as *iti Baudhāyanaḥ* by Baudhāyana in the

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Baudhāyanasūtra. One does not have to make any distinction between the different portions of the work as regards authorship. With the exception of Book II which may be derived from or rather based on various sources but is by no means independent of the author's personal equation, the entire work appears to be the product of one fount, the creation of a single man; and that man is no other than the person who is self-conscious enough not to be ashamed of describing himself in his own book in the third person as *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*.

The New Indology

Meyer differs from Hillebrandt in regard to the date and some other items. But it need be noted *en passant* that both are exponents of what may be described as the "new indology." Each one is prepared to admit, what should have been accepted as a postulate and starting-point of comparative social science long ago, that the Hindu mind and creative genius have functioned in quite "positive" and materialistic fields and that the qualities of manhood, energism, civic sense, rationalism etc. are not the monopolies of Western "races" and "climates." The errors of German "romanticists" are at last being made good by the Germans themselves, to a certain extent. Eur-American scientists and philosophers may now perhaps be expected to attempt a change of front in regard to *Orientalisme*.

Kauṭilya, a Title of Honour

Winternitz holds that the name or title Kauṭilya is too derogatory for a man of the chancellor's position. But Hillebrandt in his very first paper on the *Kauṭilyaśāstra* (1908) pointed out the existence of another name, namely, Kauṭalya. Besides, argues M., the title *Kuṭila* (crooked, clever etc.) as used in the *Mudrārākṣasa* is really appreciative or laudatory and not at all dishonourable. Cleverness consisting in the ability to decieve others is a virtue among all races. Thus, for instance, Israel, the patriarch of the Israelites was known as Jacob, i.e., the cheat or swindler. Every Tom, Dick and Harry "can be named a Viṣṇugupta, but Kauṭilya is the *Kronenorden* (Order of the Crown) granted out of the hands of Nature and science."

Statesmanship vs. Scholarship in Kauṭilya

According to Winternitz, the author of the *Arthaśāstra* is not a practical statesman but a mere Paṇḍit (*ein pedantischer Gelehrter*) and

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deals not with a powerful empire but with *Kleinstaaterei*, the condition of small states. Meyer considers this argument to have been deprived of all strength, in anticipation of all future scepticism, by the text itself. For, it says that both the science of politics and the political world were saved and reconstructed by the author.

Kauṭilya is by all means a "Paṇḍit," a scholar addicted to his technique of classification and so forth as Winternitz remarks. The Indian tradition says so. Why should not this tradition possess a greater validity, asks M., than the demands of the moderns who expect or believe that a "Paṇḍit" could not be a "statesman?" How do we know that this famous chancellor of Candragupta was or must have been something different? In this connection one may argue, with Narendra Nath Law in his *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta, 1925), that the combination of statesmanship with the scholarship of a Paṇḍit was not altogether rare in ancient India.

According to M., Kauṭilya is not a Bismarck in the sense of a professional and trained publicist. But he may have risen to the position of the chancellor on account of his helping Candragupta up. It is doubtful, however, if he contributed much to the actual administration of the new empire, says M. He may have been dismissed by his pupil, the Emperor, after a short time. The book, we are asked to suppose, may have been composed by the "exiled" king-maker, perhaps in his native land somewhere in South India.

Compilation and Originality in the Arthaśāstra

The author of the *Artha.* is certainly a "compiler," says M, but an "extraordinary" and "peculiar" compiler. J.'s criticism at p. 33 of his English introduction to the Lahore text is entirely unjust according to M. The phrase *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, used so often in the text not only exhibits, we are to understand, the compiler-author's own contribution but is a standing monument of his proud individuality, self-consciousness and strong personality, just the characteristics attributed to him by tradition. Instead of saying with Jolly that the *Arthaśāstra* is much indebted to the *Mahābhārata*, Meyer would consider the reverse process to be more natural.

Kleinstaaterei

The precursors of Kauṭilya, says M., were dealers in small states, and their philosophies corresponded to these conditions. If Kauṭilya

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had wished to function as a "mere" compiler or copyist, i.e., introduce nothing new, his philosophy would have run in the same old grooves. But his work, according to M., indicates at several points that it is not adapted to the ancient Indian small states system but only to a powerful empire. After all, one must remember, argues M., that even Candragupta's empire was not much different, at any rate, in quite a number of items, from an ancient Indian "small state inflated to colossal proportions." One should not be surprised, therefore, it is to be understood, if one finds the touches of small states here and there in the book. The *Arthaśāstra* can still be the product of an Imperial epoch although one does not find in it exactly what you and I expect to find in an empire.

A word may be added in this connection. In the discussions bearing on the Kauṭilya question in my *Hindu Politics in Italian* (*I.H.Q.*, 1925-26) it has been pointed out that the *Arthaśāstra* is essentially a "philosophical" work (*Kauṭilyadarśanam*). The doctrine of *maṇḍala* (sphere) which involves automatically the plurality of states and hence perhaps might to a certain extent suggest *Kleinstaaterei* is therefore to be taken more as a "logical category," a stock-in-trade of philosophical academies, in regard to international relations, than as a realistic description of the actual foreign politics of a particular epoch or epochs. The professors who are lecturing on the *mores* of the *vijigīṣu* do not necessarily have before them, as explained in that paper, a bunch of pigmies as audience.

Fourth Century B.C.

M. has no objection to believing in the existence of a long tradition of political and technical literature in India previous to the *Arthaśāstra*. But according to him this does not necessarily lead to Winternitz's conclusion that the "fourth century before Christ is at least not probable." Rather, says M., "it cannot be proved and even sounds very unbelievable that in that period the Indians did not possess a very extensive political and economic science."

Arthaśāstra not younger than Dharmaśāstra

In order to prove that the *Arthaśāstra* as a branch of literature is a comparatively late production, Jolly considers it to have been preceded by the *Dharmaśāstra*, and to have arisen as a branch of the latter. This attitude is wrong, says M., who believes that *Dharmaśāstra* is of a late growth. In M.'s judgment the origin of ancient

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Indian law is not all to be traced to the Brāhmaṇas. The origins even of the religious or "priestly laws" are not to be found in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature. Their "later development" alone can be seen in it. And as for the worldly or secular laws, they arose entirely among other (than Brāhmaṇa) classes of the people and first cultivated by them.

The two categories of law are fundamentally opposed to each other, but the secular laws have been later incorporated in and assimilated with the Brahmaṇic-religious or shamanic-magical laws. The Brahmanizing proceeded very energetically. Even the *Arthaśāstra* was in danger of losing its independent existence and being swallowed up in the *Smṛtiśāstra*. But the attempts of the Brāhmaṇas have been crowned only with partial success. M.'s thesis is fully developed in the book, *Ueber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften und ihr Verhaeltniss zu einander und zu Kauṭilya* (On the nature of ancient Indian law books and their relation with one another and with Kauṭilya), a work of some 450 pages. That book should really be described as the main introduction to this translation.

M. comes to the conclusion that the "secular laws" of ancient India had a secular origin. The "more secular" *Arthaśāstra*, i.e., politics as *science*, however, came to have a "priestly" origin. The authors of this class of literature were mainly Brāhmaṇas.

This, however, is not tantamount to saying that the *Arthaśāstra* was originally a branch of *Dharmaśāstra*. Exactly opposite is the relation between the two branches of literature, according to M. *Arthaśāstra* was at first a science by itself. The later Brāhmaṇical *Dharmaśāstras* have attempted to annex it to themselves, of course, in the eclectic manner of dilettantes. Such dilettantes are Viṣṇu, Gautama, and especially Manu and Yājñavalkya, who attempted encyclopædic treatises on the entire magical, religious and civil as well as moral welfare. And of course they could not afford to neglect the *rājadharma*.

Arthaśāstra not condemned by the Ṛṣis

Jolly believes that the topics of the *Arthaśāstra* were held as "wicked" by the Brāhmaṇical Ṛṣis. M. holds the contrary view. One or two persons may have indulged in such sensitiveness. But for a genuine ancient Indian, i.e., an Indian used to the philosophy of the famous *trivarga*, "it would not have been possible even to dream of condemning the *Arthaśāstra*." With all its ferocities and

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crookednesses this *śāstra* was in his sentiment as important and even as holy as the "sacred" *Dharmaśāstra*. The civic laws arose as a rule out of the folk-consciousness, the consciousness of the masses. The laws and the customs of the local groups, castes, industrial and religious communities, families and tribes are declared by the *Dharmaśāstras* to constitute the foundations of these laws. Naturally, these must have been collected and put together, although not of course in their entirety, long before the *Dharmaśāstras*.

Mahābhārata Politics later than Arthaśāstra

According to Jolly political science is to be found in an embryonic or primitive condition in the *Mahābhārata* and therefore its relevant portions must be older than the *Arthaśāstra*. This position is challenged by M. The relation between the *Artha.* and the *Mahā.* is according to him identical with that between Nārada on the one side and Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu and Gautama on the other. Nārada is a scientifically trained scholar, and a person with a juridical frame of mind, whereas Manu, Yājñavalkya and the rest are eclecticists, popularizers, dilettantes. The same dilettantism, eclectic and unscientific character, the *Smṛti*-attitude is to be found in the writers of politics in the *Mahā.* In fact, there the *rājadharma* is but a part of *Dharmaśāstra*.

These dilettantes of the *Mahā.* betray in their writings that they know an *Arthaśāstra* which is not of the alleged "embryonic stage" but even more developed than the Kauṭilyan work. The grouping of facts and phenomena by mathematical figures is an instance of post-Kauṭilyan progress in political thought. The enumerations like 14 *rājadoṣas*, 8 *buddhis*, 36 *guṇas*, 8 *vargas*, 20 *vargas*, 10 *vyasanas* derived from *kāma*, 8 *vyasanas* due to *krodha*, all point to investigations unknown to and later than Kauṭilya. Had the subject-matter of *vyasanas* acquired such a complexity in Kauṭliya's time, he, as a specialist and not a mere dilettante in politics, would have cared to insert it in his book.

Chemical and Metallurgical Knowledge in the Arthaśāstra

According to Jolly the Indians of the *Arthaśāstra* are much too developed for the fourth century before Christ. Meyer retorts that "J. cannot prove that the India of those days did not possess all the sciences, arts, dexterities and institutions such as are described by Kauṭilya." In his judgment the whole line of this so popular argu-

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ment is unfounded. Our positive knowledge on these subjects is so small that we ought to be very modest in our statements.

In a paper contributed to the *Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. XLI, Jolly has asserted that the *Arthaśāstra* is "a work of the third century after Christ, perhaps still later, because of the references to alchemy and gold-making." There is nothing in the world, says M., to prevent us from believing that these arts may have been known in India in earlier ages although perhaps in another and more primitive form.

To this may be added my conclusion in *Hindu Politics in Italian.* It is time to discuss, as stated there, whether the *Arthaśāstra* references do not bespeak fragments of chemical texts older than has yet been studied. Instead of bringing the *Arthaśāstra* down to post-Maurya times why should it not be possible to push the older epochs of Hindu chemistry farther up to the Mauryas? In any case, the question is open.

Meyer has not been able to discover mercury in the *Arthaśāstra.* Hence a technological argument as to the lateness of the book is disposed of. Professor Lippmann has contributed a paper an "*Technologisches und Kulturgeschichtliches aus dem Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya*" in the *Chemikerzeitung*, 1925, nos, 134-135. He translates *trapu* by zinc and thinks that this reference betrays the origin of the passage as being not earlier than the eleventh century after Christ. But, says M., *trapu* is tin and not zinc. Then there is a reference to *śarkarā* (sugar) which cannot be older than the fourth century after Christ, says Lippmann, or sugarcandy which is reported as an import from Egypt about 1300 A.C. But according to Meyer, Kauṭilya knows five different kinds of sugar, and "it is unthinkable that the solid forms of sugar were not known in India before the fourth century after Christ."

The Megasthenes Question

In connection with these technological questions Meyer remarks that we do not possess as yet adequately dependable information regarding the arts and industries of ancient India. "How can we, for example," he wonders, "summon the ancient Greeks, with a Megasthenes at their head, as witnesses for the crown although we have known for a long time how misleading their reports are?"

The Megasthenes question has been dealt with at some length in different contexts in my Bengali book entitled *Hindu Rāṣṭrer*

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Gaḍan (The Morphology of the Hindu State), 1927. It has been discussed also in the already cited *Hindu Politics in Italian.* The argument on this point takes the following form. First, Kauṭilya is a writer of philosophy and not a reporter of actual conditions, which may or may not influence the thought of a theorist. Secondly, Megasthenes is a reporter, but may have been a monumental misinterpreter and much too obsessed with his Platonisms and Egyptian and perhaps also Persian stories, and hence hardly to be trusted as an *objective* historian. Thirdly, therefore, the *Indika* does not furnish the reliable touchstone for Mauryaism or Maurya *milieu.* We need a third and more reliable source on the strength of which both Kauṭilya and Megasthenes can be appraised as to the Maurya or non-Maurya elements reflected in each. Finally, the discrepancies between Kauṭilya and Megasthenes do not dissipate, at the present state of knowledge, the Maurya atmosphere traditionally associated with the *Arthaśāstra.*

And in this connection it is to be observed that the reference to China, instead of proving the post-Maurya character of the *Arthaśāstra*, may demonstrate just the opposite. For, China as the name of a "power" began to have an international reputation with Tsin Shi Hwangti, the contemporary of Aśoka.

Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana

Jolly has traced parallelisms and identities between Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya and on that strength considers the author of the *Arthaśāstra* to be at the most a century older than the author of the *Kāmasūtra.* According to M. this sort of arguing *steht rein in der Luft* (exists purely in the air), i.e., has no solid foundation whatever. In regard to Vātsyāyana, M. agrees with Jacobi whose contributions to the Kauṭilya-studies he appreciates as on the whole still valuable (*Ueber die Echtheit des Kauṭilya*, 1912).

Kauṭilya and Young India

Pre-war indology furnishes us in the field of Kauṭilya scholarship with the problem of Hillebrandt-Jolly *vs.* Jacobi. Now comes Meyer to invite the world of science back to Jacobi. Today, indeed, the problem is in the main Jolly-Winternitz-Keith *vs.* Jacobi-Meyer.

And here it would not be out of place to cite Professor Jolly's judgment on the work of Indian scholars in the field of ancient Hindu politics published in his article, "*Ueber die alte politische Literatur*

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Indiens und ihre Bearbeiter," in the *Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. XLI. Having described in some detail the different works published up to date, the veteran indologist concludes as follows:—"One cannot fail to see a connection of these *nur scheinbar rein wissenschaftlichen Tendenzen* (only apparently pure scientific tendencies) with the modern movements for freedom and autonomy. It lies in the interest of the Swarajists to be able to refer to similar tendencies in the old literature of their fatherland. That is why most of the authors reviewed here do not wish to renounce the belief in the authenticity and early origin of the *Arthaśāstra* although the evidences for it are inadequate. However much one may sympathize with the freedom movements of these Indian researchers, their historical viewpoints and conclusions are to be accepted with caution (*Versicht*), and one cannot entirely exonerate the authors named here from the reproach that they have not kept politics and history separate from each other."

Whether the scholarship and scientific investigations of Young India in its entirety or in part deserve this charge need not be discussed here. The significant fact remains that neither the 100 per cent. German, Geheimrat Professor Jacobi, nor the German-American Professor Meyer, is "young" or Indian or Swarajist. Nor do the contributors to the chapters on ancient Indian law and polity in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I. (1922), such as Professors Hopkins of Yale and Thomas of London, as well as English members of the Indian Civil Service like Monahan, author of *Early History of Bengal* (Oxford, 1925), and last but not least, Vincent Smith, all of whom have ventured on using the *Arthaśāstra* as an important authority on the legal, economic and political institutions of the Mauryas, happen to be known as champions of *swaraj* for India.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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REVIEWS

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MALAYALAM PHONETICS by L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer, M.A., (Calcutta University Phonetic Studies : No. I).

This short monograph is probably the first of its kind in the whole range of Dravidian linguistic studies and constitutes undoubtedly the greatest contribution to Malayalam, at least since the publication of Kerala-Pāṇinīyam. Throughout the author reveals not the dabbling hand of an amateur but the trained hand of a specialist and here and there strikes a note of genuine individuality and refreshing originality, which spices as it were what may be dry study to the general reader. All the sounds of our language are here very carefully described, and that according to the well recognised I. P. A. script ; and the general remarks, following the description of individual sounds, such as those on accent, length and doubling of consonants etc. add considerably to the usefulness of the work to the scientific student of language. While we cannot help wishing that his general remarks were more profuse so as to better elucidate the neutral sonants and consonants, it can unhesitatingly be said that the book does supply a long-felt want. It may be that the work does not exhaust all kinds of variations in the matter of pronunciation in various areas, but it cannot, indeed, be gainsaid that the author has well succeeded in recording and describing with a very fair degree of accuracy the average standard pronunciation of the cultured Malayalis. Similarly it may also be that one cannot accept some of his views. We cannot, for instance, quite agree with him when he says that Kerala had in ancient days the same political government as some of the east-coast districts. The origin of Maṇipravāḷam we would rather trace not to a sense of pedantry on the part of the Sanskritists, but to a desire to create a hybrid language to suit the weird Vidūṣaka of the Sanskrit dramas, as staged in this little corner of India. Coming to Eḷuttaccan's contribution in the field of language, we would estimate it as consisting mainly in introducing a new outlook regarding the mutual relation of Sanskrit and Malayalam and in adapting the local Sanskrit script for the already Sanskritised local vernacular,and not in creating a new type of language and script. We do not, indeed, claim any finality for our views and

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do incline to think that Mr. Iyer may have his own reasons for his views ; and in referring to these differences our aim is only to emphasise the fact that a systematic scientific discipline has yet to be introduced into the study of Malayalam—an aspect which makes the present work all the more creditable. The work, we dare say, constitutes a standard record of no mean scientific value, and as such, deserves to occupy a high place amongst similar productions. While, therefore, we have great pleasure to commend the book to the student of languages, we heartily congratulate Mr. Iyer on the successful pioneer work he has done. We cannot better conclude this review than with a request to Mr. Iyer to follow up his 'Phonetics' with a detailed volume on the Phonology of Malayalam from the comparative and historical point of view—a task for which he appears to be eminently fitted on account of his linguistic attainments.

K. R. PISHAROTI

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE POST-CAITANYA SAHAJIYĀ CULT by Manindra Mohan Bose M.A. With a Foreword by Basanta Ranjan Roy Vidvadvallabha. Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of Letters, vol. XVI. Calcutta University Press, 1927 (pp. 1-162).

This interesting work is modestly entitled "An Introduction," but is really an important contribution to the study of a difficult and little known subject. Although Sahajiyā has been and still is a popular cult in Bengal, its esoteric doctrines are little known to those who are not Sahajiyās themselves. Mr. Bose deserves our thanks for embodying in this valuable monograph the results of some of his researches on the Sahajiyā cult with special reference to its Post-Caitanya developments. After an Introductory section on the cardinal points of the Sahajiyā doctrine, we have several sections of unusual interest, dealing with the Sahajiyā doctrine of "association with women" and "parakīyā," its theory about the human body, its theological presuppositions, and its relation to Tāntrikism. Throughout, the work is written with sympathy and insight, and is well documented with quotations from unpublished Sahajiyā works. But by far the most valuable parts of the monograph are its Appendices. Appendix A (pp. 71-85) gives a fairly full summary with quotations of a typical Sahajiyā work, entitled *Amṛtarasāvali*. Appendix B

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(pp. 86-162) is a chapter on Bibliography in which the author gives a descriptive catalogue and summary of about eighty Sahajiyā manuscripts (mostly collected by Calcutta University), many of which are little known outside the circle of Sahajiyā sects.

It is, however, necessary to point out that some of the sections could have been written much more fully and adequately. The section on Tāntrikism and Sahajiyā appears to us to be the weakest part of the monograph. The author might have utilised with profit the growing literature in Sanskrit and Bengali on Tāntrikism and on the later developments of Buddhism in Bengal. The relation of Sahajiyā to Post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism on the doctrinal side has been dealt with rather cursorily and meagrely, while almost nothing is said regarding the history of the development of this particular cult. We hope that in a future edition these aspects of the problem will be discussed and these parts more fully written.

In going through this work, one cannot but regret the numerous misprints and slips, especially the carelessness with which Sanskrit quotations are given in the footnotes. Although we have the spellings Sahajiyā and Caitanya on the title-page, it is strange that in the body of the work, the words are spelt throughout Sahajiā and Chaitanya respectively. We may also point out that in some cases (e.g. on pp. 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 31, 36, 37, 38 etc.) passages are quoted apparently from Bengali Sahajiyā works but the names of those works and the references are not given. In a scholarly work like this, accuracy in these matters should be observed, and full and adequate references should be given. In citations from manuscripts it is desirable that the serial number and description of the Ms. as well as the number of the folios from which the quotation is taken should be noted to facilitate reference. It is also regrettable that the transliteration of Bengali and Sanskrit words is throughout done with great carelessness. An Index of the manuscripts described might also have been given.

But all these defects, which we hope will be remedied in a future edition of the work, do not minimise the value and interest of this important contribution to our knowledge of an obscure religious movement, and we echo the hope, expressed by Mr. Basanta Ranjan Roy in the Foreward, that "Mr. Bose will continue the work he has so well begun with his wonted zeal and enthusiasm, and earn for himself a reputation as one of the pioneers in this particular field."

S. K. DE

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SEKA ŚUBHODAYĀ or 'The Blessed Advent of the Shaikh,' an old Bengal Collection of Tales and Legends about King Lakṣmaṇasena and the Shaikh, in corrupt Sanskrit, edited by Sukumar Sen, M.A. Hrishikesha Series, no. 11. Calcutta, June 1927 (pp. 1-176).

In the Foreword contributed to this complete edition of this extremely interesting work, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is undoubtedly right in characterising it as "one of the curiosities of Indian literature." Attributed to Halāyudha Miśra of the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena but a palpable literary forgery of about the 16th century A.C., this work has a manifold interest, appealing alike to the philologist, the social historian as well as to those students of literary history who are interested in the tales and legends of old Bengal. With the pietistic import of giving an account of the blessed adventures of Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi, it includes the secular adventures of other people also ; if a forgery, it was a pious forgery meant for the material gain of some landed property attached to a mosque ; obviously modelled on Sanskrit works, on folk tales and didactic fables, it draws its inspiration also from mediæval Muhammadan romances ; written in barbarous Sanskrit, it seeks to bring the language of the gods to the level of the Prakrits and even of Bengali ; giving a glimpse into old Bengali Hindu Society and preserving some old traditions and gossip of Pāla and Sena kings, it throws chronology and history to the winds and draws liberally upon Muhammadan legends and hagiology.

This work of unique interest came to the notice of the educated Bengali public about thirty years ago, and a part of it with a tentative Bengali translation was published by Mr. Manindra Mohan Bose in an obscure Bengali journal some fourteen years ago. We have now a complete edition of the work so far as it is available. The original unique manuscript of the work found at the Bais Hazari Mosque at Gour is now lost ; the present edition like that of Mr. Bose is based on an imperfect rough transcript made by Pandit Rajanikanta Chakravarti and Mr. Haridas Palit of Maldah before 1898. In spite of such imperfect material, the edition is well executed. With his philological and literary equipment, the young editor has proved himself competent for the task, and the name of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who supervised the work, is a sufficient guarantee of its accuracy and thoroughness. A short introduction deals with the problems connected with the work, its author, its hero, its date and its manuscript : to this is added a short sketch of its linguistic and other peculiarities, including

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its Bengalicisms, which are also dealt with in the brief notes appended to the text. The text is given in Bengali character, although it would have been desirable if it could have been printed in Devanagari. A second volume containing Bengali translation by Mr. Manindra Mohan Bose and a note on the original lost manuscript by Mr. Haridas Palit is also promised.

The editor has spared no pains to make the work useful and scholarly, and we hope it will attract the attention of scholars interested in the subject. One only wishes that the printing and get-up of the work had been such as befit its interest and importance.

S. K. DE

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph. D, with the co-operation of various scholars and illustrated by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., Chief of Aundh. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927.

The preparation of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata was agreed upon in 1905 by the International Association of Academies, but before the enterprise had advanced, the world-war intervened. The announcement of a new and critical edition of the epic by the Bhandarkar Research Institute and the publication of the Virāṭaparvan in 1923 by N. B. Utgikar as its first fruit were, therefore, eagerly welcomed by all scholars interested in Oriental studies. The first fascicule of the Ādiparvan (Book I), containing the first two chapters, is now published, and the Institute is to be congratulated on the admirable beginning that has been made, under the able editorship of Dr. Sukthankar, of a truly colossal task, which we sincerely hope it will be able to bring to a successful completion.

In the short Foreword, the editor has given a brief account of the manuscript material and discussed some broad principles of Mahābhārata textual criticism, which he has kept in view; but he has reserved these matters for a more detailed and comprehensive treatment in an elaborate introduction to be published with the last fascicule of the Ādiparvan. It would, therefore, be premature to pronounce any final opinion on the edition or enter into detailed textual criticism. But one would feel no hesitation in saying that the work has been undertaken in the true critical spirit and would, when completed, give us (as the editor may justly claim) "a more

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faithful picture of the elusive 'original' than any single extant codex" or edition "could do."

The peculiar difficulties of reconstructing the Ur-text of the Mahābhārata, due to the strange vagaries of its manuscript tradition, are nown to all scholars. Besides the normal vicissitudes of transmission which has resulted in a bewildering profusion of versions, the work must have passed through certain abnormal circumstances of transmission, which make its text tradition not only multiple but also (as the editor designates it) polygenous. Through indiscriminate mutual contamination, there has been amazing fusion of versions and creation of hybrid types which cannot now be completely disentangled by purely objective criteria. As a necessary consequence it is now almost impossible to trace all extant versions to any fixed and authentic archetype, which would certainly have much simplified the process of editing. Nor is the textual critic here able to rely entirely upon the oldest of the best category of manuscripts, for the peculiar condition of the growth of epic makes it imperative that he should take into consideration the strong and weak points of all classes of manuscripts and judge each variant on its own merit. This naturally involves a great deal of eclecticism, but the danger of a purely subjective valuation may be (as it has been) counteracted by a cautious utilisation of the actual data supplied by the manuscripts of different versions. All these traits distinguish the Mahābhārata from any other known Sanskrit text, and its textual peculiarities require in the editor exceptional qualifications. The editor of such a bewildering text should be a scholar, not only of unquestionable ability but also of mature critical judgment, fully alive to the difficulties of his stupendous task. The Institute has fortunately found such an editor in Dr. Sukthankar who also possesses the unique advantage of being assisted by a band of earnest and able scholars of established reputation.

Nearly fifty manuscripts have been collated for this edition, and have been classified under a Northern and a Southern Recension. Of the former, thirty-five manuscripts have been utilised, and these have been grouped under Kashmiri, Maithili (Nepali), Bengali and Devanagari versions. Of the latter, subdivided into Telegu, Grantha and Malayalam versions, thirteen manuscripts have been collated. On a collation and classification of this enormous manuscript material the purest source is found in the Kashmiri tradition, and this has been taken as the basis of the text constituted chiefly with the agreements of the Southern recension. The other Northern versions are not

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neglected, but their variants have been fully considered and sometimes preferred, while their concordant readings with the Kashmiri or with the Southern recension have been carefully utilised. So far as one can judge from the published specimen, the course adopted by the editor is fully justified by the facts of the case, and the major part of the text has been reconstructed with a degree of approximation which may be deemed sufficient for all critical purposes.

The reviewer, as an Indian, may be excused for entertaining a pardonable pride in the fact that the first critical edition of the great Indian epic is undertaken, as it should be, by a band of Indian scholars. Let us hope that when it is completed it will stand as a glorious monument of Indian scholarship.[1]

S. K. DE

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, VOL. I—CHAMPA by Dr. R. C. Majumdar M.A., PH.D. Greater India Society Publication, no. I. Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore (pp. xxiv+280+227).

The history of ancient Hindu colonisation remains even to this day not only unwritten but quite undeservedly neglected. Our university students handle occasionally as their prescribed texts or books of reference works like the British Seamen of the 16th century of Froude or the Influence of Sea Power on History by Mahon, but they hardly ever suspect that their motherland India might have left some record in ancient navigation and colonisation. Even the post-graduate students and research scholars are obliged frequently to use the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea or the Geography of Ptolemy and seldom carry their investigations further so as to gain an idea of the wonderful achievements of their ancestors in the region of maritime expansion. This mental inertia is the result of a double hostile influence : (1) the unhistorical and reactionary attitude of our mediæval social legislators towards *sea voyage* which came to be considered impure and

1 In this connexion it is gratifying to note the value attached to the Bengali version and read the editor's judgment that "Bāngālī alone has in a few cases preserved the correct reading as compared with all the other manuscripts."

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barbarous, and (2) the hopeless paucity of books and monographs on that subject in English, almost the only European language known to our educated group.

It is gradually being discovered and admitted that the ancient Hindus played a signal rôle in doing pioneer work in navigating the Southern ocean which by their spirit of rare adventure, and creative audacity they justly named as the *Indian Ocean.* From about the beginning of the Christian era if not earlier, when the Rāmāyaṇa mentions *Yavadvīpa Suvarṇabhūmi* down to the collapse of the Hindu Javanese Majhapahit empire towards the end of the 15th century A.C. for nearly 1500 years, we may trace the progressive march, the interaction and transformation of Hindu maritime and colonial genius in the Far East especially in Indo-China and Indonesia. The materials for this memorable yet sadly forgotten chapter of Indian history have been unearthed, classified and commented upon by the French and Dutch scholars. The Greater India Society has been trying to rouse the attention and enthusiasm of our scholars with reference to this unjustly neglected branch of our history and Dr. Majumdar, a leading member of the Academic Council of the Society has boldly come forward with a noble plan of presenting the valuable informations on the subject to the Indian public for whom the works of the continental savants are sealed books. Any one who will care to turn the pages of Dr. Majumdar's Campā will realise that he has spared no pains to make this chapter live again. His book is not only the only book of its kind in English but it presents the rare combination of being scholarly and at the same time engaging, comprehensive and discriminating in details. The resultant picture of the Hindu colony of Campā, her political, social, religious and artistic history is highly interesting and inspiring. A complete *corpus* of Sanskrit inscriptions with notes and translation which the author adds as the second part of his valuable book makes it indispensable for all students of Indian epigraphy and culture history. He has not only given a faithful *resumé* of almost all the important French books and monographs on the subject but also has boldly expressed his own opinions differing, where necessary, from the scholars working in the same field. A single colony *Campā* demands nearly 600 pages for a general survey! What a stupendous work is still lying before us may easily be guessed therefrom. The author has earned the permanent gratitude of the Indian public by undertaking the task and offering first fruit of his labour in his Campā. We congratulate Dr. Majumdar and

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recommend his book to all lovers of ancient Hindu culture. The Punjab Sanskrit Series has done good work by publishing the book and though the published pages are disfigured by typographical blemishes we hope that in the next edition they will be removed and the book will be as attractive in printing as it is in substance.

KALIDAS NAG

KĀTYĀYANAMATASAMGRAHA by N. Bandyopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1927.

Mr. Bandyopādhyāya has fulfilled a long felt desideratum by this collection of the verses on *Vyavahāra* ascribed to Kātyāyana. The importance of the laws of Kātyāyana cannot be overestimated and Mr. Bandyopādhyāya has won the gratitude of the scholarly world by collecting in a handy little volume these verses from Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, the Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana, and the Parāśara-Mādhavīya. One cannot but regret that Mr. Bandyopādhyāya did not go through other important works, specially the commentaries of Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka on Yājñavalkya.

Mr. Bandyopādhyāya of course admits that his collection does not claim to be exhaustive; yet however I cannot but regret that he has not collected the verses of Kātyāyana quoted by Aparārka in his commentary on the *Vyavahārādhyāya* of Yājñ. specially as it could have been done in a few hours. In that case he would not have had to lament that many ślokas of K. on *Sambhūya-samutthāna* seem to be missing. I also found two new ślokas on verbal injury in Aparārka. Still, after all, it is not likely that many ślokas have been left out.

The importance of the rules of Kātyāyana was appreciated long ago and it is more than thirty years when Dr. Jolly collected the ślokas attributed to Kātyāyana and also prepared an English translation of same, which was never published because the Sacred Books of the East series came to an end. It is rather surprising that nobody took up this work during all these years till at last Mr. Bandyopādhyāya thought it worth while to devote time and energy to this task.

Mr. Bandyopādhyāya has however nowhere given us a single line by way of explanation though sometimes it is necessary, even indispensable. To take an instance. Kātyāyana (śl. 133) declares that

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if instead of saying देयं मया anybody says मया देयं it should be taken to be a doubtful answer. The question naturally arises what difference there can be between देयं मया and मया देयम्. Here Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa's explanation would have been very welcome : मयादेयमित्यत्र त्वकारप्रश्नेषसम्भवाददेयमित्यप्यवगमात् ।

I do not understand why Mr. Bandyopādhyāya has included the śloka no. 167 in his collection. It is not quoted in the Vīramitrodaya, while in the Smṛticandrikā it has been attributed to Nārada in the clearest possible terms and not to Kātyāyana. The śloka in question is दिवाकृते कार्यविधौ ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च । सम्भवे साक्षिणां चैव दैवी न भवति क्रिया ॥ After quoting this verse Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa comments on it as follows : इति नारदवचनेऽपि दिवाकृतादिसंकीर्त्तनं मानुषप्रमाणसंभवे दिव्यनिषेधार्थमवगन्तव्यम् । There can be no doubt therefore that Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa takes this verse to be of Nārada and not of Kātyāyana. The place of this śloka should have been occupied by the other śloka quoted by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa immediately before : सम्भवे साक्षिणां प्राज्ञो दैविकी वर्जयेत क्रियाम् । सम्भवे तु प्रयुञ्जानो दैविकी हीयते ततः ॥ Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in his comments on it says : इति । कात्यायनवचनेऽपि साक्षिग्रहणं मानुषोपल[च*]णार्थमिति मन्तव्यम् । Then comes the verse of Nārada already referred to. Here it is quite clear that Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa takes this verse to be a verse of Kātyāyana and it is equally clear that the full-stop after इति is quite superfluous. But, to all appearance, this absurd punctuation has been the cause of the sad mistake on the part of Mr. Bandyopādhyāya. The śloka no. 189 has been attributed to Kātyāyana in the Vīramitrodaya (p. 195) but in the Smṛticandrikā (p. 131) it has been attributed to Bṛhaspati. This fact should have been noticed in a foot-note.

As regards the date of Kātyāyana, Mr. Bandyopādhyāya has confined himself to broad generalities. He has only said that Kātyāyana refers to the *dīnāra* and judging by the general character of his work Kātyāyana is to be assigned to the age of Nārada and Bṛhaspati. Mr. Bandyopādhyāya could easily have been more definite and said that the fragments of Kātyāyana's work, as we have them to-day, belong to an age posterior to Bṛhaspati, for Kātyāyana refers to the latter not seldom, and some of these quotations may easily be found in Bṛhaspati in sense if not in the same words and in many cases Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati give exactly the same views. But here a difficulty arises. It is true that Kātyāyana often quotes Bṛhaspati but still in some comparable passages Kātyāyana records more ancient views than those of Bṛhaspati. Thus Bṛhaspati

* A typographical mistake in the printed text of Smṛticandrika.

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(xxv, 79) says "Those by whom clothes and the like articles have been declared indivisible have not decided properly." But Kātyāyana (śl. 749) lays down that clothes should be used by the co-parceners (*bandhubhiḥ*) jointly as occasion arises. The only way to harmonise these two contradictory phenomena is to assume that Kātyāyana's work in some form or other was existing before the time of Bṛhaspati but was remodelled and brought to its present shape after Bṛhaspati by a person who was largely influenced by the views of Bṛhaspati, and probably, as in the case of so many law-books, this work of Kātyāyana was originally written in the sūtra-style. This may look like a daring hypothesis; but it is no longer a hypothesis but an established fact when we find that Medhātithi (on Manu 8, 215) actually quotes a *Kātyāyanīyaṃ Sūtram*. Medhātithi here quotes a prose rule of Kātyāyana about the non-performance of duty on the part of a carrier (*bhāṇḍavāhaka*). I could not find a metrical version of this rule in the collection of Mr. Bandyopādhyāya but it cannot in any way hinder the conclusion that the metrical work of Kātyāyana, the fragments of which have been so laboriously collected by Mr. Bandyopādhyāya, is nothing but a remodelling of the Sūtra-work of Kātyāyana mentioned by Medhātithi. Aparārka too quotes many prose rules of Kātyāyana though not on Vyavahāra.

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Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, vol. II, no. 1

H. N. RAGHAVENDRACHAR.—*Caitanya (knowledge) in Advaita.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, March, 1928

H. HERAS.—*The Royal Patrons of the University of Nālandā.*
A. BANERJI-ŚĀSTRI.—*Weights in Ancient India : Patna Cylinders.*
BENODE BIHARI ROY.—*Harappa and the Vedic Hariyupiya.*
BINAYAK MISRA.—*The Trikaliṅga Country.*

Ibid., June, 1928

CHARU CHANDRA SINHA.—*Hedonism in Ancient India.*
A. S. ALTEKAR.—*A New Gupta King.* Extracts from *Devī-candra-gupta*, a drama by Viśākhadatta quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra brought out by Sylvain Lèvi in 1923, have been reproduced here recording the fact that the extracts mention a Gupta king called Rāmagupta and also give some details abouts his reign.
R. D. BANERJI.—*The Later Guptas.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. III, nos. 1 & 2

V. S. BAKHLE.—*Sātavahanas and the Contemporary Kṣatrapas.*
S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*The Bappa Bhaṭṭicarita and the Early History of the Gurjara Empire.*
A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Authors of the Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya and Gadyacintāmaṇi.*
D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Some Copper-plate Grants recently discovered.* This paper treats of the Bantia Plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi of (Gupta-Valabhi) Saṃ. 257, the Bhavanagar Plates of Dharasena III of Valabhi of Saṃ. 304, a grant of Western Cālukya sovereign Pulakesin II, a grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa soverign Govinda III and the Āśvi plates of the early Yādava Irammadeva, a feudatory of the Deccan Cālukya Vikramāditya VI of Śaka 1020.

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R. R. HALDAR.—*Some Reflections on Pṛthvīrāja Rāsā.*

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JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Pauṣkarasādi.*

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. II, pts. 3 and 4

S. E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARIAR.—*The Date of Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya.*

JAGABANDHU SINHA.—*Kaliṅga.*

Zeitscrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band 7, Heft 1

JULIUS VON NEGELEIN.—*Die ältesten Meister der indischen Astrologie und die Grundidee ihrer Lehrbücher.* The author has here collected a valuable list of Ancient Indian Superstitions.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Band 6, Heft 1

ERNST LEUMANN.—*Die Göttin Aditi und die vedische Astronomie.* In this article which is very important for Vedic Astronomy, Prof. Leumann has proved that the basic conception of the goddess Aditi is that of *Ungebundenheit* (state of being free from bondage) though Roth and Grassmann took it to be that of the expanse of the sky or of the earth and Oldenberg traced the origin of this goddess to a cow-fetish. In the Vedic literature Aditi is represented as the mother of seven sons; these sons are the seven planets—Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, that is to say, those very planets which are *ungebunden* and follow independent routes, in contradistinction to the fixed stars which are called the sons of Diti "bondage" in the Vedic literature, though of course Diti is an obscure figure before Aditi. The comet is *ungebunden* par excellence and therefore we should find it among the sons of Aditi and actually

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we do it ; for over and above the seven sons referred to above Aditi is sometimes said to have another son who has not yet passed the embryonic stage. This eighth son is the comet.

M. WINTERNITZ.—*Zwei neue Arthaśāstra-Manuskripte.* Mr. Anujan Achan of Santineketan discovered two manuscripts (Nos. 916 and 647) of the Arthaśāstra in his uncle's library in Cochin and sent them to Prof. Winternitz. The Ms. No. 916 contains a full commentary on the first two Adhikaraṇas and the first Adhyāya of the third Adhikaraṇa of the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra. The Ms. is written in Malayalam script and is incorrect and hardly legible. Neither the name of the commentary nor that of the commentator is to be found in the colophons ; on the last page however there are a few unconnected lines belonging to the commentary on the last portion of VII, 6 and the initial part of VII, 7. The last words of these lines correspond to the initial words of the Nayacandrikā (in the second volume of Jolly's edition of the Arthaśāstra where this commentary begins with VII, 7). It appears that this Ms. is copied from a fragmentary Ms. of the Nayacandrikā ; but this is not quite certain.

Ms. No. 647 is a complete manuscript of the whole of the Arthaśāstra beautifully written in Malayalam characters. The writer has collated a few chapters and has arrived at the conclusion that this Ms. gives nothing new, but only corroborates the better readings which are seen already in the editions of Jolly and Gaṇapati Śāstrī and are mentioned also in the edition of Shamasastry.

In both these Mss. the form Kauṭalya has always been used and according to the writer this form is better than the alternative form Kauṭilya.

Ms. No. 647 also contains the full text of the Bārhaspatya-sūtram already edited by Thomas in Le Muséon. The writer has discussed all the important variant readings this Ms. offers.

JULIUS VON NEGELEIN.—*Die Begriffe rechts und links in der indischen Mantik.* The author has here dealt in details with the idea of right and left in Indian astrology in general.

OTTO STEIN.—*Versuch einer Analyse des śāsanādhikāra.*—Here an attempt has been made to analyse the 21st *prakaraṇa* of Kauṭalya. The author has brought out the importance of this chapter from the view point of grammar, style, logic, Nīti etc. by a comprehensive review.

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OTTO SCHRADER.—*Ein syntaktisches Problem der indischen Sprachfamilien.*

In all further Indian language-groups--Aryan, Dravidian and Kolarian—the genitive is placed before the noun by which it is governed. The author has here discussed this phenomenon and tried to explain it.

DR. BETTY HEIMANN.—*Die Dingbeziehungen in den alten Upaniṣaden.*

The author has here discussed the interrelation between things static and dynamic, dependent on or independent of each other as conceived by the Upaniṣadic thinkers.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Alfred Hillebrandt

The famous orientalist Alfred Hillebrandt breathed his last on October 18, 1927, at the age of 75 in his house at Deutsch-Lissa near Breslau.

Hillebrandt was the pupil of Martin Haug. Haug when he taught Sanskrit and old Persian in Munich had, in fact, only two pupils—Schwab and Hillebrandt, and to both of them he communicated his ardour for the study of ancient Indian rituals. On his advice each of his two pupils made a special study of a particular branch of ancient Indian rituals, whereupon Schwab wrote his monograph on Animal Sacrifice and Hillebrandt his famous monograph on New-moon and Full-moon Sacrifice. Schwab gave up his Indian researches with the publication of the aforesaid work but to Hillebrandt it was the beginning of long years of work on Indology. From the very beginning Hillebrandt had a bend for mythological studies and when Max Müller's edition of the Ṛgveda and Roth and Böhtlingk's Dictionary came out, Hillebrandt, then in the prime of his life, decided to make a study of the figures of the gods in the Vedic literature, and after a continued labour of 25 years, published in three volumes his famous work on Vedic mythology. The first volume containing 347 pages appeared in 1891 and only the god Soma was discussed in it. The other volumes appeared in the years 1899 and 1902 respectively. In 1910 he published an abridged edition of his work in one handy volume. But even then Hillebrandt's interest in Indian Mythology was not exhausted. In the last days of his life he was busy preparing a revised edition in two volumes of his work on Vedic mythology, the first volume of which has already appeared and the second volume is reported to be ready for the press.

In the field of Indian rituals Hillebrandt edited for the first time the Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra in Bibliotheca Indica. In 1897 appeared Hillebrandt's most important work—Ritualliteratur, in the Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. In this work Hillebrandt has given a masterly survey of the works on ritual and has discussed all the various kinds of rituals. Nothing of this kind has ever been attempted before or after the publication of this work, and very probably it will always be regarded as one of the most important

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works on Indology. Even when the hand of Death was already upon him Hillebrandt wrote to me that he had a mind to revise this work too in the light of new materials gathered since but there were many difficulties in the way of accomplishing this arduous task, and now it will never be done. Quite a different branch of Indology was enriched by the researches of Hillebrandt—it is Hindu polity, for it is Hillebrandt who wrote the first monograph on Kauṭilya even before the publication of the Arthaśāstra. Hillebrandt also founded the important series 'Indische Forschungen' in which his own edition of the Mudrārākṣasa appeared and of the many important works in this series we may mention only one viz. Scheftelowitz's 'Apokryphen des Ṛg-veda.'

By the decease of Hillebrandt the science of Indology loses one of its luminaries and his want will certainly be long felt by the Indologists.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Emile Senart

In the death of Mon. Emile Senart the Indologists of Europe have lost their Doyen, the Société Asiatique its illustrious President, and the Indians an unfaltering friend of over half a century. Privileged to know him personally during the three years of my stay in Paris, I come forward, at the invitation of the learned editor of our *Indian Historical Quarterly*, to offer my humble tribute of gratitude to the great French savant whose loss we all mourn.

Mon. Senart was born in the historic city of Rheims on the 26th March, 1847, thus completing his 81st year when he passed away. Of his generation of Indologists very few are in the land of the living; probably Sir George Grierson of England, Professor Jacobi of Bonn and Dr. Jolly of Würzburg are the only surviving colleagues of Senart. Those were days of happy collaboration between the French and the German scholars—a collaboration inaugurated by the pioneer of Indology in France, Eugene Burnouf, the first occupant of the chair of Sanskrit in the College de France (1815). Bopp, the first writer of the comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages, sat at the feet of Burnouf who was also initiating young Max Müller into the mysteries of Indology about the same time that Senart was born. He completed his school education in his native town of Rheims, and proceded to Germany where he stayed for a little over three years

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(1864-1867), returning to France at his twentieth year. He kept four terms in the University of Münich and three terms in that of Göttingen, as I heard from him, making a special study of classical Philology at Münich. In 1866 Senart migrated to the University of Göttingen, hallowed by the memory of Hermann Oldenberg, who, as is well-known, was the rival of Senart in many fields of Indological Kurukṣetra. But Oldenberg was then a young man probably learning his *a b c* of Indology and the renowned Professor of Sanskrit at Göttingen at that time was Theodor Benfey. We are grateful to Benfey for enticing young Senart away from the study of Græco-Latin philology to that of Indology.

Senart with his usual enthusiasm plunged heart and soul into the study of sanskrit but the clouds gathering in the political horizon and bursting into the thunderstorm of the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars (1866-1871) inevitably brought about a tragic interruption in the studies of our neophyte. Senart hurried back to France, and fought heroically to defend his country like his life-long friend and collaborater in the field of Indology, Auguste Barth (vide Modern Review, June, 1919). But even these dismal realities could not deter Senart from prosecuting researches and studies in Germany and during his second visit in 1872 he worked with Pischel, Goldschmidt and, above all, with Weber at the University of Berlin. In 1873 appeared Senart's edition and translation of *Kaccāyana*, at which he had been working since 1868. About the same time appeared his *Legend du Buddha* demonstrating how in those days Mon. Senart was preoccupied with the canonical language and texts of Buddhism. Brilliant records as they were for a young scholar of twenty six, far more brilliant, nay epoch-making discoveries were waiting to make the name of Senart a hallowed one in the domain of Buddhalogy and Buddhist antiquities. He had the unique honour of publishing in 1880 the first complete and critical edition of the *Inscriptions du Piyadasi* written not in the conventional scriptural language of Pāli, but with all the rich variations and *nuances* of some of the living vernaculars (Prākṛts) of India, spoken twenty three centuries ago. The enormous difficulty involved in deciphering and commenting on these oldest palaeographical documents of ancient India, and the wonderful way in which Senart solved those difficulties brought him world-wide fame and recognition. In 1882 Mon. Senart was honoured with the highest distinction in the Republic of Letters of France, being elected a *Membre de l' Institut* at the early age of thirty-five.

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For nearly half a century scholars have been handling Mon. Senart's edition of the Asokan inscriptions and although great epigraphists like Bühler, Hultzsch, etc. came later to publish their editions under better conditions, yet even to this day Senart's readings, notes and translations are found useful and illuminating. His grammatical and philological notes were considered so valuable that they found a ready translator in no less a scholar than Sir George Grierson, the *doyen* of Indian vernacular research and the founder of the Linguistic Survey of India. In fact Mon. Senart's genius presented that unique combination of all that was best in the cultures of France and of Germany—the initiative and originality of the former being stabilised and enriched by the painstaking care and thoroughness of the latter.

Starting thus with the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of Asoka, Mon. Senart continued to serve the cause of Indian epigraphy till almost the last days of his life, for we find his name with those of Boyer and Rapson on the recently published *Kharoṣṭhi* inscriptions (discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan), Part II (1927). And when we remember that Senart started his studies in Indian Prakrits as early as 1867, we find him thus working in this field for nearly sixty years—a veritable Bhīṣma of Indian epigraphy. He was one of the most valuable contributors to the *Epigraphia Indica* and even amidst such strenuous studies in an exact and exacting science like Palæography, he could find time for writing brilliant monographs like Les Castes dans l'Inde (1896) and articles in the leading journals of France like the *Revue de Deux Mondes, Journal Asiatique* and others ; and at the same time with characteristic French passion for *vulgarisation* or popularisation of the recondite sciences, Mon. Senart used to deliver lectures under the auspices of the Musée Guimet and other institutions of Paris. Many of his popular lectures on *Yoga philosophy*, for example, and his translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* (published in 1923) helped to propagate Indian thought among the general public of France.

That reminds me of the fact that the Sanskrit scholarship of Mon. Senart was no less remarkable, and that he claimed as his colleague and friend Auguste Barth who, with Abel Bergaigne was considered one of the greatest Sanskritists of Europe. As a member of the Academie de l' inscriptions et belles lettres, Senart rendered a great service to the study of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Greater India by facilitating their publication under the joint editorship of Barth and Bergaigne (1887-1888). These Sanskrit inscriptions of the ancient

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Hindu colonies of Campā and Cambodge, together with the archæological finds of the Commission Archæologique de l' Indo-Chine, created a sensation specially since the discovery of the wonderful temple group of Angkor and resulted finally in the foundation of the world-famous French School of Archæology in Indo-China—Ecole Française d' extreme Orient which was founded in 1900 with Mon. Finot as its first director, of which Mon. Senart was a founder, a supporter and a lifelong friend.

In 1902 Senart was elected the President of the Société Asiatique of Paris and when I left Paris in 1923 I saw him, at that advanced age of 76, regularly transacting business of that learned body with a care and courtesy all his own. A veteran soldier in the field of Archæology as he was, Mon. Senart created every facility in his power for young and adventurous soldiers in the same field like Sylvain Lévi, Foucher, Pelliot and others. The unique Kharoṣṭhi Ms. of the Sanskrit *Dharmapada*, discovered by the ill-fated expedition of Dutreuil de Rhins who lost his life in course of the adventure, was published with a pious care by Mon. Senart. And when Mon. Paul Pelliot, that prodigy of Sinology, wanted to plunge into the archæological exploration of Central Asia and China, it was chiefly through the endeavour of Mon. Senart that the Comité de l' Asie Français was formed with Senart as its President to finance the Pelliot Mission (1905-1909) which made so many memorable discoveries. Just on my arrival in Paris, I found Mon. Senart elected as the President of the Society of the Friends of the Orient (Amis de l'Orient) located at the Musée Guimet and when I had the privilege of approaching him with the request of helping us in organising a regular *Indian Association of Paris* in 1921, it was Mon. Senart and Prof. Sylvain Lévi who offered their best aid, their moral support and invaluable guidance as the first President and Vice-President respectively of our Association. His home and splendid library at 15, Rue François, I was ever open to Indian students and his generous heart ever solicitious of their moral welfare and academic progress.

Mon. Senart was the active member on the Committee of the Pāli Text Society of Prof. Rhys Davids in London ; he was an honorary Doctor of the University of Oxford, a Doctor of Law of Edinburgh, a Doctor of Philosophy of Leipzig and of Kristiania (now Oslo). He was also an honorary corresponding member of the British Association of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, of the Academies of Münich, Göttingen and Berlin, of Brussels and Amsterdam, Helsingfors and Bologna,

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All these learned societies of the different nations of Europe will mourn his loss. We Indians also join in that chorus and express our heartfelt gratitude and profound reverence to that great occidental propagator of Indian wisdom and the lifelong friend of India—Emile Senart !

KALIDAS NAG

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